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The Harmony Society in Indiana

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	Page 1v
CHAPTER	
I. EUROPEAN HERITAGE OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY	1
II. FORMATION OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY IN PENNSYLVANIA	13
III. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY IN INDIANA	43
IV. COMMUNAL LIFE AND RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY	98
V. DEPARTURE OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY FROM INDIANA	136
APPENDICES	
ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION	1
MEMORIAL TO THE PRESIDENT BY THE SOCIETY OF HARMONY	2
CHART OF THE LAND PURCHASES OF THE RAPPITES IN POSEY COUNTY, INDIANA	3
MEMORANDUM OF MISCELLANEOUS THINGS WERE SENT ON OCT. 31, 1814 TO NEW HARMONY	4
MAP OF HARMONY, INDIANA	5
AGREEMENT BETWEEN FREDERICK RAPP AND JOHN CALDWELL FOR CONDUCTING THE HARMONIE STORE IN SHAWNEETOWN	6
POWER OF ATTORNEY GRANTED TO FREDERICK RAPP	7
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

EUROPEAN HERITAGE OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY

On the 18th of July toward 8 o'clock in the evening I arrived in the vicinity of Harmony. The tower clock struck eight, a pleasing indication of civilization for a traveler who has passed over eight hundred miles without having heard the stroke of a clock. When I arrived in the town it seemed as if I were in the midst of Germany. Clothing, language, manners and customs, all have remained unchanged with these colonists.¹

This community with German customs and traditions as described by a traveler in 1819 was the home of the Harmony Society which resided in Harmony, Indiana from 1815 to 1825. This Society was not an ordinary community. Here under frontier conditions stood a settlement noted for its clean and orderly appearance, durable frame and brick buildings, well kept gardens, fertile fields of grain and fruit, many and varied industries, and strong religious principles. This unique German colony was achieved through communitarian effort and became one of the most prosperous communitarian societies in the United States.

The members of the Society under the leadership of George Rapp emigrated from Germany and first settled in Pennsylvania from 1804 to 1815. It was in Pennsylvania

¹Ferdinand Ernst, Observations Made Upon a Journey Through the Interior of the United States of North America in the Year 1819 by Ferdinand Ernst (Hanover, Germany: Hildesheim, 1823), MSS translation by E. P. Baker in the Illinois State Historical Library, pp. 42-44.

that the followers of George Rapp organized the Harmony Society. When the Society was formed, private ownership of property was renounced and the wealth of the members became the wealth of the Society. This communal living was grounded on religious principles and the tenets and teachings of George Rapp. Rapp's theology which attracted over seven hundred followers did not originate in America but evolved from religious conditions in Germany prior to their immigration to America. One naturally becomes curious as to the environment and background of this man George Rapp who became a religious leader of men who were willing to leave their homeland, give up their property and become obedient to his dictates.

George Rapp, a six foot German with Nordic features, was born in Iptingen, Wurtemberg, on October 28, 1757.² His parents were Hans Adam and Rosina Rapp. George Rapp had a simple upbringing and a common school education of reading, writing, arithmetic and geography. He learned the occupation of his father, a vineyardist, but during the winter he was employed as a weaver. In 1783 at the age of twenty-six he married Christina Benziner and they had two children, John and Rosina. In his early life George Rapp became religiously inclined and a devoted student of the Bible. In time his religious ideas corresponded to the pietist ideology.

²William Alferd Hinds, American Communities and Co-operative Colonies (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1908), p. 71.

In Wurtemberg and other parts of Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there occurred a great deal of religious turmoil. There arose a movement called pietism which desired to reform the Lutheran church. The objective of pietism was to preserve the doctrinal content of Martin Luther's theology. However, the pietists felt the systematic theology and philosophy of the Lutheran church should be secondary to a more vital religion of the heart and life. The pietists opposed the laxity of morals that was existing in Germany at that time. The universities of Germany had become hot-beds of vice and infidelity. The professors did not stress the differences between the philosophic ideas of Pythagoras, Plato, Homer, Aristotle, and Socrates and the religious teachings of Moses and the Biblical prophets. "The historic records of the Old Testament were but myths, and the miracles of the New Testament were but exaggerated statements of natural facts."³ On the Sabbath, balls, theaters, and gambling were unchecked by the church. From the church pulpits "the peasantry received frequent and labored instruction on the raising of bees, cattle, and fruit."⁴ Pietism stressed the need for active reform to a life of devotion, repentance, and spiritual conversion. Worship in the Lutheran church had become a cold formality of abstruse logic in expounding the gospel. George Rapp accepted the

³Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society at Economy, Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh: W. S. Haven, 1866), p. 10.

⁴Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 11.

ideas of pietism with the exception that he wanted to break away from the Lutheran church; in other words, he became a separatist. The decision of Rapp not to adhere to the Lutheran church was influenced in part by the writings of Spener, Bohme, Swedenborg, Jung-Stilling, Herder, and Bengel.

The pietist movement originated primarily through the efforts of Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705). Spener was not interested in breaking away from the established church, the Lutheran church, but only in reforming it. In an effort to study the Bible to gain a more sincere and consistent religious experience, Spener organized private religious meetings outside the realm of the state church. These meetings were started as early as 1680 and were called collegia pietatis. The term pietists was derived from the people who attended these religious meetings.

Other leaders of the pietist movement were Jakob Bohme⁵ (1743-1819), Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), Jung-Stilling⁶ (1740-1817), Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803). In Wurtemberg, Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752) was the leader of the pietists. Jakob Bohme believed in religious mysticism which was a desire for an intimate communion with God. Historically, religious mysticism, Bohme said, frequently came into being as a

⁵Bohme is also spelled Bohn or Behmen.

⁶Jung-Stilling is a pseudonym for Johann Heinrich Jung.

protest against mechanical and/or anthropomorphic representation of God in his relations to man and the world. Mysticism stressed the emotional gratification of an individual's worship of the deity. In addition, Bohme claimed that the center or the essence of man's soul came from God and remained until death, unlost and unspoiled. It was this part of the soul that God spoke to and to which his Light and Grace could appeal. Religion was not everlasting as found in dogmas and creeds but because of religious experiences.

Emanuel Swedenborg's ideas of religion encompassed a philosophy that man first dwelt within the Divine Being in a childlike ignorance and innocence. Evil in the world was allowed by Providence for the purpose of creating heaven. The law of life was charity and was accomplished by love to others; faith alone would not save a man's soul. All creations had their origins in divine love and wisdom. The Bible was written as a correspondence from God to man and should be studied to unlock the spiritual teaching of Providence.

From the other three pietists who were influential George Rapp also acquired some of his religious ideas. Jung-Stilling in his writings emphasized the importance of feeling in religion as opposed to rationalism in the enlightenment. Johann Herder stated that religion did not grow from man's attempt to explain the universe. The world was the expression of God's greatness. Within man there was an inherent goodness as opposed to sin. The sin of

mankind originated from idleness. Sectarian dogmatism prevented man from enjoying a true relationship with God. Johann Bengel believed that the study of the scriptures should not be hampered by dogmatical considerations.

The Lutheran church took a definite stand in opposing the ideas of pietism. If an individual were found guilty of attending the collegia pietatis, he could be imprisoned for three months. When the Lutheran church attempted to suppress the pietist movement, the separatist movement came into being. Separatists wanted to break away entirely from the Lutheran church. The separatists believed that the established church was a "Babel." "The separatists of Wurtemberg believed that the true Christian must live a life of self denial and that he must suffer ridicule and persecution on account of the purity of his life. They regarded the established clergy as hypocrites and Pharisees."⁷

In Wurtemberg the separatists' movement appealed to George Rapp. Rapp viewed the Lutheran church not of God but of the devil. Rapp felt that the Lutheran church in Iptingen did not follow the teachings of Christ. "The parsons eat and drink and fatten their bellies and do not provide for the poor."⁸ Finally Rapp at the age of thirty decided to hold religious meetings in his own home

⁷John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society; A Chapter in German-American Culture History," German American Annals, New Series, II (July, 1904), p. 403.

⁸John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists: A Personal History (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Book Service, 1943), p. 10.

for his friends and neighbors since religious nourishment could not be found in the Lutheran church. These separatists asserted their belief that laymen had the right to study and interpret the Bible and to discuss the meanings found in the Scriptures. George Rapp and his followers refused to attend the local church services because one could not worship as the spirit of God moved him. For this reason they chose to remain in their own homes in small groups where all could talk freely. These separatists believed in the Christian church as established according to the principles of the apostles and the "primitive" Christians.⁹

The Lutheran church strenuously opposed Rapp's religious activities. Rapp's refusal to submit to the church's discipline which forbade the meetings in his home caused his wife and him to be summoned before the Church Convocation in Iptingen for questioning on April 15, 1785.¹⁰ At this time George Rapp stated that he was abstaining from Holy Communion and withdrawing from the church permanently.¹¹ He was then asked why he persisted in his activities and held views opposed to the Lutheran church. Rapp answered, "Because I have found the fountain-head myself and the substance itself in Jesus Christ."¹²

This group of separatists led by George Rapp held that

⁹John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 11.

¹⁰John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 665.

¹¹John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 666.

¹²John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 8.

the pastor of the Iptingen parish, M. Genter, was not a man of God and refused to recognize him.¹³ Rapp and his followers believed in "the principle of conscience -- that each individual had the potential power of communicating directly with God, and therefore the purified individual was divinely ordained to judge most things for himself."¹⁴ The emphasis that the Lutheran church placed on ceremony seemed to them idolatry. They believed that to partake of baptism and Holy Communion one must be a true Christian, freely exercising his will and faith in God to overcome sin, rather than partaking of these sacraments merely to observe a ceremony of the church. These religious views toward the state religion in Wurtemberg were considered dangerous and Rapp and his followers were watched closely.

In time Rapp's religious activities started to attract the attention of people in the nearby villages of Wiernsheim, G rtingen, Ehningen, Nufringen, Schnaid, and Winterbach.¹⁵ His influence with his followers was due partly to the peasant background they commonly shared. Again George Rapp was called before the officials of the Lutheran church on January 23, 1787.¹⁶ He was asked to discontinue the meetings he held in the home and to return to the church. His answer was in the negative and

¹³John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 669.

¹⁴John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 10.

¹⁵Karl J. Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," American German Review, VIII (October, 1940) p. 5.

¹⁶John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 667.

he reaffirmed his decision of 1785 to boycott the church. At the same time Christian Hornle, Johannes Hornle, and Michael Conzelmann, followers of Rapp, were questioned by the church officials and also denounced the church. Aside from defying the state religion, Rapp and his followers refused to send their children to the local schools which were under the control of the local church. They feared that their children would be indoctrinated in religious beliefs contrary to the separatist thinking.

The local officials of Iptingen, who were under the influence of the Lutheran church, started to list the names of people attending the meetings at Rapp's home. The people were then summoned to the magistrate's office on Monday, and if they would not pay the fine, they were imprisoned.¹⁷ Additional persecution followed which included the confiscation of separatist literature and the denial of free wood for cooking and heating which was a civil benefit. Threats were made to drive Rapp and his followers from their homes if they did not obey the Sabbath injunctions of the church, such as the prohibition against excursions on the Sabbath. During the morning church service on Good Friday, four of Rapp's followers were fined for buying a herd of swine and driving them through the streets. George Rapp was even imprisoned in the tower of Maulborn and in 1799 he was fined for

¹⁷Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society: A 19th Century American Utopia (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1954), p. 2.

splitting wood and distilling whiskey on Sunday.¹⁸ George Rapp, however, taught his followers to give strict obedience to the civil laws and to pay the required tithes to the Lutheran church.¹⁹

Finally the local church authorities of Iptingen sent a petition to King Frederick II of Wurtemberg asking for the removal of Rapp and his followers from the kingdom. When the king received the petition he asked, "'Are they good citizens? Do they pay their taxes?' Being informed that they were good and orderly citizens, and that they promptly paid their due to both church and state, he tore up the petition, saying, 'Let them believe as they please.'"²⁰ Although the king of Wurtemberg would not banish Rapp and his followers from the kingdom, other conditions arose which made life in Iptingen undesirable. Added to religious persecution were the invading armies of Napoleon and the conscription of Germans to bear arms. The idea of bearing arms against one's fellow man was unacceptable to Rapp and his followers.

George Rapp decided to seek a new land for his followers in order to escape continued religious persecution and the effects of Napoleon's desire to rule Europe. Other separatist groups were leaving Wurtemberg to settle in

¹⁸ John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 10.

¹⁹ The Harmony Society in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1937), p. 6.

²⁰ William Alfred Hinds, American Communities and Co-operative Colonies (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1908), p. 71.

Russia, Hungary, and America. Rapp's first attempt was to secure a tract of land in Louisiana from the French government. Before arrangements could be made, Napoleon had sold Louisiana to the United States. But Rapp's interest in the new world was continued when Dutch merchants advised him to investigate the northern states of the United States.²¹ It was in this region that other German immigrants had settled: the Mennonites, Amish, Dunkards, Moravians, and the Schwenkfelders.

Before George Rapp set sail for America in 1803, he sold his property in Iptingen for around eight hundred dollars.²² Rapp's two companions on his voyage to America were John Rapp, his son, and Dr. Frederick Conrad Haller. At Amsterdam, Holland, the three men boarded the Canton on July 31, 1803, and arrived in Philadelphia on October 7, 1803.²³ After arriving in the United States they searched for and purchased a suitable tract of land in Pennsylvania where they could establish a colony with approximately seven hundred people. Before George Rapp left Germany, he placed Frederick Reichert in charge of the followers.

By placing Frederick Reichert in charge of the migration from Germany George Rapp knew that he had a man whom he could depend upon and trust. Frederick Reichert was born on April 12, 1775, and his trade in Germany was a

²¹Karl J. Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," p. 5.

²²The Harmony Society in Pennsylvania, p. 6.

²³Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 6.

stone-cutter and an architect.²⁴ Frederick Reichert, who later became George Rapp's adopted son in 1805 and changed his last name to Rapp, had the responsibility of overseeing and making all the arrangements for the immigration of Rapp's followers to America. At this time Frederick was in charge of about three hundred families who recognized George Rapp as their religious leader. After the followers of Rapp had left Wurtemberg to settle in Pennsylvania, King Frederick II issued a decree forbidding further emigration from his kingdom until 1815.²⁵

²⁴Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 32.

²⁵Karl J. R. Arndt, "World War II and the Russian Co-Religionists of the Harmonists," American German Review, XV (February, 1949), p. 10.

FORMATION OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY IN PENNSYLVANIA

When George Rapp, John Rapp, and Dr. Haller arrived in America, they set out to explore and purchase land in order to establish a settlement for the followers who would arrive in the future. After investigating lands in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and along the rivers of the Susquehanna, Conestoga, Potomac, and even on Lake Erie, George Rapp first attempted to purchase land in Ohio.¹ It was situated thirty miles north of the Ohio River and nearly eight miles west of Pittsburgh. Before Rapp could acquire the land from the United States government, another individual bought it. George Rapp then decided to buy land in Pennsylvania. His acquisition of four thousand and five hundred acres of land was in the southwestern part of Butler county on the Conoquenessing Creek.² It was located twelve miles from Beaver, Pennsylvania, which was on the Ohio River and twenty-six miles north of Pittsburgh. This land had originally been set aside by the state of Pennsylvania as the Revolutionary Soldiers Depreciation Lands and was later purchased by Robert Morris. In 1802 Dettmar William Frederic Basse, a German Baron, had

¹John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 14.

²Clarence Edwin Carter, editor, The Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Indiana: 1800-1810 (XXVI Vols.; Washington, D. C.: United States Printing Office, 1939), VII, 331.

purchased the land from the Philadelphia Land Company which was controlled by Robert Morris.³ Basse then sold the four thousand and five hundred acres to George Rapp for two and a half dollars an acre.⁴ It was here that the Harmony Society was formed and resided until 1815 when they moved to Indiana.

After purchasing the land, George Rapp wrote to Frederick Reichert in Iptingen stating, "Here is a very rich land. There is practically no real poverty. Man is free to go wherever he desires. Even the taxes amount to practically nothing. All the people are good toward each other; one must admire their friendliness. I shall never return to Germany if my citizenship still continue, I will give it up. I am already a citizen here."⁵ Before Frederick Reichert had completed the arrangements for the emigration of Rapp's followers to America, he received another letter from George Rapp who stated, "You must not urge anyone to come -- it is a long and perilous journey."⁶ Frederick Reichert showed good foresight in supervising the emigration by encouraging people of wealth who could help financially in establishing the colony, and also individuals with skill who would help to build

³Dettmar Passavant, "Romantic Story of Baron Basse, Founder of Zetienople," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, VIII (January, 1925), p. 15.

⁴Clarence Edwin Carter, editor, The Territorial Papers of the United States, VII, 331.

⁵John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 15.

⁶John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 16.

the settlement and make it as nearly as possible economically self-sufficient.

George Rapp was at Baltimore when the first ship, the Aurora, arrived on July 4, 1804, bringing three hundred of his followers. In August, 1804, the second ship, the Atlantic, arrived at Philadelphia with Frederick Reichert leading the two hundred and sixty followers. The last group arrived on the ship Maragaretta at Philadelphia in September, 1804, under the leadership of Dr. Haller.⁷ Most of Dr. Haller's group decided to settle in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, at his settlement, Blooming Grove, seven miles north of Williamsport, rather than with Rapp's group in Butler County.⁸ The reason that not all of the emigrants decided to follow George Rapp was due to disagreements over religious questions and some felt that Dr. Haller, who had more education than Rapp, would be a better leader than a man with a peasant background. This separation among the emigrants was valuable since those who elected to follow George Rapp were conscientious followers of his way of life.

Since it was late summer when all of Rapp's followers arrived in America, it was decided to select forty families⁹

⁷John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 406. Christiana F. Knoedler states in The Harmony Society, p. 6 that the Atlantic arrived on September 15 with two hundred and sixty-nine persons and the Maragaretta (or the Margaret) arrived on September 19 with two hundred and seventy persons.

⁸John Samuel Duss, George Rapp and His Associates: The Harmony Society (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1914), p. 17.

⁹Christiana F. Knoedler in The Harmony Society, p. 6 states that there were eighty people who went with George Rapp to Butler County.

led by George Rapp, John Rapp, and Frederick Reichert, to proceed to Butler County and to commence work on the settlement which they would call Harmony.¹⁰ Before the vanguard left for Butler County, the remaining people were scattered throughout Pennsylvania and Maryland to work on farms. The Quakers gave assistance to many of them. Also the German Society of Philadelphia offered its help and gave George Rapp two hundred dollars to aid his group in establishing themselves in western Pennsylvania.¹¹

After forty families had started the construction of Harmony, fifty more families journeyed to Harmony in the spring of 1805. By the summer of 1805 the Harmonists¹² had constructed "forty-six log-houses, eighteen feet by

¹⁰ Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 6. John Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America in the Years, 1809, 1810, and 1811. Including Descriptions of Upper Louisiana, Together with the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Tennessee, with Illinois and Western Territories, and Containing Remarks and Observations Useful to Persons Emigrating to those Countries in Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, Early Western Travels: 1748-1846 (XXXII Vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904), V. 314 states that there were forty families who went with George Rapp to Butler County. Hereafter cited as John Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America.

¹¹ Erna Risch, "Immigrant Aid Societies Before 1820," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LX (January, 1936), p. 27. In an interview with George Rapp in 1831 by Sandor Farkas de Bolon, a Hungarian traveler who visited Economy, the third home of the Harmony Society, George Rapp stated: "It would have been almost impossible to execute our intentions had Baltimore and Philadelphia not helped us with 2,000 dollars, and had I not received 800 dollars for my sermons from the German compatriots in Philadelphia." Karl J. Arndt, "The Hungarian Travelers Visit Economy," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXIX (April, 1955), p. 201.

¹² Since George Rapp's settlement was called Harmony, the people were called Harmonists. However, in Indiana the followers of George Rapp were commonly called Rappites.

twenty-four; a large barn; and a grist-mill, to which a race was dug of nearly three quarters of a mile in length."¹³ When the Harmony Society was formed with the adoption of the Articles of Association on February 15, 1805, there were approximately one hundred and twenty-five families or about seven hundred and fifty men, women, and children at Harmony.¹⁴

The Harmony Society officially came into existence with the acceptance of the Articles of Association on February 15, 1805.¹⁵ This agreement which consisted of six articles was signed by the members of the Society and became the constitution of the Society. The Articles were in two major divisions in which each party pledged himself, in essence, to the following:

The Subscribers pledged themselves:

1. To give absolutely all their property to George Rapp and his associates.
2. To obey the rules and regulations of the community and to work for its welfare.
3. If they should desire to withdraw from the Society, not to demand any reward for labor or services.

¹³Christian Policy in Full Practice Among the People of Harmony, A Town in the State of Pennsylvania, North America: As Described in Melish's Travels Through the United States, and Birkbeck's Notes on a Journey in America (London: Hay and Turner, 1818), p. 2. Hereafter cited as John Melish, Travels Through the United States.

¹⁴Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of the United States: From Personal Visit and Observation (New York: Hillary House Publishers, Limited, 1960), p. 71. This was first published in 1875.

¹⁵See Appendix number one for the copy of the Articles of Association.

In return, George Rapp and his associates pledged themselves:

1. To supply the subscribers with all the necessities of life, both in health and sickness, and after their death, to provide for their families.
2. In case of withdrawal, to return to them the value of the property contributed, without interest, and to give a donation in money, to such as contributed nothing.¹⁶

In short the Harmony Society became a communitarian colony where all requirements of life and operations of the Society were shared jointly by all members. It became a co-operative effort for the benefit of all involved. By becoming a member of the Harmony Society an individual gave all his worldly possessions, cash and personal property, as a gift to the Society to be used for the benefit of the community. The officers of the Society had full authority to use the contributions of the members in any way to aid and promote the interests of the Society. The members were required to give their full co-operation and obedience to the officials and perform services of any nature that would enhance the operation and welfare of the Society. The members who had children were expected to instruct their offspring to do the same. In return the Society provided for the members the necessities for life, such as food, lodging, clothing, medical care, education, and religious training. In addition, when the members of the Society became too old to contribute to its operation, they were cared for. This also applied to the children of parents who would die.

¹⁶John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," pp. 278-279.

What were the reasons that prompted George Rapp and his followers to establish a communitarian society? The idea for the formation of the Harmony Society originated in part from the principles of the "primitive" Christians as found in the passages of the Bible. It is from the following Biblical passages that the Harmonists justified the abolishment of private property and the adoption of the principle of community ownership of property.¹⁷

And all that believed were together, and had things common.¹⁸

And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need.¹⁹

And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.²⁰

Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold,²¹

And laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.²²

¹⁷John H. Wilson, The Historic Town of Harmony, Butler County, Pennsylvania, in the Times of George Rapp and His Associates, in the Time of Abraham Zeigler and the Menonites, and as I Recollect It as a Boy (Butler, Pennsylvania: The Eagle Printery, 1938), p. 7.

¹⁸Acts 2:44

¹⁹Acts 2:45

²⁰Acts 4:32

²¹Acts 4:34

²²Acts 4:35

The idea of a community patterned after the early Christians was prevalent among the German separatists. "It is probable that they (the Harmonists) had determined in Germany to establish a community of goods, in accordance with their understanding of the social theory of Jesus."²³ The religious nature of the Harmony Society was clearly set forth in the following:

Whereas, by the favor of Divine Providence an Association or community has been formed by George Rapp and many others, upon the basis of Christian fellowship, the principles of which, being faithfully derived from the sacred Scriptures, include the government of the patriarchal age, united to the Community of property, adopted in the days of the apostles, and wherein the simple object sought is to approximate, so far as human imperfections of God, by the exercise of those affections and the practice of those virtues which are essential to the happiness of man in time and throughout eternity.²⁴

Aside from religious objectives sought through a communitarian organization, there was an economic reason for the formation of the Harmony Society. The cost in establishing the Harmony Society in Pennsylvania amounted to about twenty thousand dollars for purchasing livestock, implements, supplies, and partial payment for the land.²⁵ At the time of the formation of the Society, "about ten families, including some of the most wealthy among them,

²³Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of the United States, p. 71.

²⁴Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 129. The quotation cited is the first paragraph of the Articles of Association.

²⁵John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 9.

became dissatisfied with the socialistic views of the majority, to the grief of their brethren, and to the great pecuniary loss of the Society."²⁶ Another problem facing the Harmonists was the lack of credit. The Society had been refused credit in Pittsburgh on the report that there was discord among the members and the possibility that they would break up. "When credit failed -- and this was not seldom in the early days -- a good many people went hungry. For a time the daily ration had been cut to one spoonful of flour per capita. In August, 1805, George Rapp wrote to Frederick, 'For eight days we have had no bread and very little flour, but are not suffering because of various cookables from the garden.'"²⁷ Faced with the problems of the lack of funds and credit, the Harmonists also had the difficulty of clearing the land and making their colony self-sufficient in its first years. Some of the members who were not wealthy had to pay their transportation loans. Being cognizant of these economic challenges and motivated by the communal principles of the "primitive" Christians, the Harmonists undertook the formation of a communitarian society on February 15, 1805.

In examining the Articles of Association there were some features which stand out. First, there was no reference to any religious tenet. This, in itself, helped to prevent any disagreement among the members and removed

²⁶Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 50.

²⁷John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 21.

any problems of a religious nature in signing the communal agreement. Second, the members of the Society were to submit to the rules and regulations of the community. The meaning of this was that strict obedience had to be given to George Rapp as the leader of the Harmony Society. Third, the name of the Society being "Harmony" was symbolic of the cardinal objective of the Society. In other words, the spirit of harmony among the members of the community was to be the rule of their daily life. Fourth, by all of the members signing the Articles of Association there would be no disagreement as to the operation and misunderstanding as to the purpose of the Harmony Society. Fifth, the adoption of the Articles of Association was not for the present time but served as a permanent basic document of the Harmony Society. Thereafter, February 15 became a holiday in the Harmony Society and was known as "Harmoniefest," a day for celebration of the date of organization.²⁸

On the same date as the organization of the Society the officials of the Society were elected. George Rapp was elected leader of the Society and became known as Father Rapp. At this time Frederick Reichert was adopted by George Rapp as his son and Frederick changed his last name to Rapp. George Rapp desired the adoption as did the members of the Society. While George Rapp was the leader and the spiritual head of the Society, Frederick Rapp was

²⁸Christiana F. Knodler, The Harmony Society, p. 7.

in charge of the economic activities and external affairs of the Society.²⁹ On the same occasion there was the selection of superintendents of the various branches (also called departments) of activity in the community. The community was divided into departments consisting of a particular trade or service. At the head of each department was a superintendent who was responsible for all the workers, money, and materials pertaining to his department.³⁰ In order to see that the Society's laws and regulations were enforced a Board of Elders was elected. The elders in actuality never exercised a great deal of authority as long as Father Rapp was alive. The Board of Elders did, however, at times, give assistance to Father Rapp in adjudicating complaints that would arise in the community.³¹

After the formation of the Harmony Society, the Harmonists set to work to build their settlement at Harmony, Pennsylvania. The town of Harmony "occupied a gentle hillock circled from the northeast through the north and the west to the southwest by the Connoquenessing Creek and surrounded on the remaining sides by higher ground. A portion of the town occupied a part of the self area to the northeast of the creek from the main settlement."³² Due to

²⁹John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 19.

³⁰John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 20.

³¹John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 20.

³²John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XLV (June, 1962), p. 124.

Frederick's background as an architect in Germany, he was responsible for most of the design and construction of Harmony. The streets were laid out at right angles and most of the buildings "fronted directly on the street."³³ There was a square in the village which was seventy-five by one hundred feet. Three streets ran north and south and three ran east and west. The width of the main street was fifty feet and the others were thirty-two feet. The town was subdivided into a quarter acre lots with each family having one lot.³⁴ In planning the village all "potentially noxious items such as stables, breweries, soap-makers' shops, distillers, dyers' shops, and pig-sties were kindly placed on the perimeter of the town."³⁵ Year by year the Harmonist's community expanded and assumed an important role in the economy of the region.

During the year of 1805 the Harmonists had planted one hundred and fifty acres of corn, forty acres of potatoes, and fifteen acres were set aside for a meadow.³⁶ In addition to the construction of forty-six houses, a barn, and a grist mill, they built a church, school house, and some workshops.³⁷

³³John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 132.

³⁴John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 8.

³⁵John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 125.

³⁶John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 1.

³⁷Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of the United States, p. 71.

In 1806, they cleared an additional three hundred and fifty-eight acres of land in which three hundred acres of corn were planted and the remaining acres were left for a meadow.³⁸ Construction continued with the building of "an inn, partly of stone, thirty-two feet by forty-two, and two stories high."³⁹ In addition, a wooden barn, one hundred feet in length, tannery, oil mill,⁴⁰ and a blue dyer's shop were built.⁴¹

It was in 1806 that George Rapp and his associates decided to send a petition to the United States Congress to obtain a grant of thirty thousand acres of land in the Territory of Indiana.⁴² The proposed terms of payment for the land consisted of three installments. Every fourth year for twelve years a payment was to be made and on or about the fourth year a payment of twelve or fifteen thousand dollars was to be rendered. The reasons given by the Harmony Society ^{were:} ~~was:~~ the land and climate in Pennsylvania were not suitable for vineyards and the difficulty they had in paying for their land in Pennsylvania.⁴³ The petition was signed by George Rapp and two hundred and one

³⁸ John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 2.

³⁹ John Melish, Travels Through the United States, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁰ The seeds of white poppies were used to make sweet oil.

⁴¹ John Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America, p. 315.

⁴² See Appendix number two for the copy of George Rapp's Petition to Congress.

⁴³ Clarence Edwin Carter, editor, The Territorial Papers of the United States, VII, 331.

men of the Society. George Rapp was present when the petition was read in the Senate on January 6, 1806.⁴⁴ On January 8, 1806, Father Rapp described the situation concerning the petition.

I am as if lost among these English people, but they have much respect for me. I have many friends.... Hoffman⁴⁵ is very active and takes much trouble. He is untiring in winning friends for our case. I was in Congress with Hoffman when our memorial was read in the upper house, and when the president asked all whether it should be accepted all voted 'yes.' At once three men were chosen to put the matter in order and to bring it before the lower house. How it will fare there I do not know yet. There will be a fight but it will not be lost. I will probably have to be here three weeks before I receive notice.⁴⁶

However, Father Rapp, unaccustomed to the processes of American government, was in error when he stated that the bill was ready to be presented to the lower house. It was not until January 29, 1806, that the Senate passed the bill empowering George Rapp to purchase land in the Territory of Indiana. It was not until the above date that the House of Representatives received the bill.⁴⁷ But by the time that

⁴⁴Karl J. Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," The American German Review, VIII (October, 1940), p. 8.

⁴⁵The man by the name of Hoffman whom George Rapp refers to is most likely Peter Hoffman. Peter Hoffman was an assistant to Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury at that time.

⁴⁶Karl J. Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," p. 8.

⁴⁷Karl J. Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," p. 9.

the House of Representatives started debate on the measure, George Rapp had departed for Harmony. In the debate that followed, the opponents objected to granting land to individuals who were of foreign birth in that it might establish precedent which would "encourage a mass exodus to the United States of the down-trodden throughout Europe."⁴⁸ The proponents felt that it would be advantageous to the interest of the United States to have a group of industrious people develop this sparsely settled region of the nation. Also their settlement "would enhance the value of the public land around it."⁴⁹ It was not until February 18, 1806, that the House of Representatives voted on the bill. There was a tie vote on forty-six "yeas" and forty-six "nays" with Speaker Nathaniel Macon casting the deciding vote in the negative.⁵⁰ Although the Harmonists were unsuccessful in securing land in the Territory of Indiana in 1806, they did however, acquire land there in 1814.

After the defeat of the Harmonist's petition in Congress in 1806, the Society experienced a fortunate addition to their community. Peter Schreiber and his five sons and four daughters entered the Society. He had sold his farm of one thousand acres in Ohio and from this sale donated approximately

⁴⁸Karl J. Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," p. 9.

⁴⁹Karl J. Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," p. 9.

⁵⁰Karl J. Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," p. 35.

eight thousand dollars to the Society's treasury.⁵¹ This additional money helped to meet the expenses of the Society. At a later date, two of Peter Schreiber's sons, Lewis and John, became superintendents in the community with the former in charge of the cotton factory and the latter in charge of the Harmony inn.⁵² Since it was necessary for the innkeeper to speak English in dealing with the customers, John Schreiber was appointed to this position.

In 1807, the community saw the addition of several buildings, including a brick store-house, a saw mill, and a brewery. Of the four hundred acres of land that were cleared in this year, four acres were set aside for a vineyard. The Harmonists were able to produce a surplus of six hundred bushels of grain for sale. From their distillery they were also able to sell three thousand gallons of whiskey.⁵³

It was during the year of 1807 that "a much deeper religious feeling than usual pervaded the Society. They called it a 'fresh revival of religion,' such as had given rise to their first movement in Germany."⁵⁴ It was during this time that celibacy was adopted by the Society.⁵⁵ Before celibacy was adopted by the Society, Father Rapp

⁵¹John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 281.

⁵²John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 282.

⁵³John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 2.

⁵⁴Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 56.

⁵⁵See Chapter Four for the discussion of celibacy by the Harmony Society.

had performed the marriage ceremony for his son, John Rapp. From this marriage a daughter by the name of Gertrude was born in the year celibacy was adopted.⁵⁶

In 1808, the Harmonists erected a brick church to replace the frame church built in 1805. They also added several houses and stables. A bridge two hundred and twenty feet long was constructed across Connoquenessing Creek. More land was cleared for crops and pasture.⁵⁷

By 1809, the Harmony Society was able to build a fullingmill, another oil mill, a second grist mill, and a large brick warehouse. Beneath the warehouse which was forty-six by thirty-six feet was a wine cellar. The Harmonists also constructed a second brick warehouse of the same dimensions. To increase their agricultural output more land was cleared.⁵⁸ Their agricultural produce consisted on ten thousand bushels of potatoes, six thousand five hundred bushels of rye, four thousand pounds of flax and hemp, one hundred bushels of barley for making beer, and fifty gallons of sweet oil.⁵⁹ The Society had a surplus of agricultural products and sold "three thousand

⁵⁶Agnes M. Hayes Gormly, "Economy - A Unique Community," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, I (July, 1918), p. 118. Christiana F. Knoedler states in The Harmony Society, p. 44 that Gertrude Rapp was born in 1808.

⁵⁷John Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America, p. 315.

⁵⁸John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 2.

⁵⁹John Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America, p. 315.

bushels of corn, one thousand bushels of wheat; and they distilled one thousand six hundred bushels of rye."⁶⁰

"During this year (1809) also they made their first piece of woolen cloth from yarn spun by hand, which was regarded as a great step toward independence."⁶¹ It was in 1809 that the Harmonists purchased one hundred Merion ewes from a Mr. Hopkins for one hundred dollars a head. This was the first time that Merion sheep were introduced in this region of Pennsylvania.⁶² The purchase price of ten thousand dollars for one hundred sheep points out that the Harmonists were accumulating wealth and their interest in quality livestock was keen.

Five years after the Harmony Society was established, "they began the manufacturing of broadcloth, from the wool of their Merino sheep; fixed up a carding machine, two spinning Jennies, and built a factory for twenty looms."⁶³ At this time, 1810, the population of Harmony contained one hundred and forty families or approximately between seven hundred and eight hundred people. During this year they constructed one hundred and thirty homes.⁶⁴ They had two thousand acres of land under cultivation and a large number of the finest sheep and cattle in the area. Through

⁶⁰ John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 3.

⁶¹ Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 54.

⁶² Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, pp. 54-55.

⁶³ John Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America, p. 315.

⁶⁴ Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 11.

hard work and excellent management they were able to supply all of their wants and have a surplus in each department which they offered for sale. In their community they had "their own tradesmen of all the necessary varieties; carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, wagon makers, coopers, shoe makers, hatters, masons, wheelwrights, saddlers, &c., &c., who served not only their own community, but also the surrounding country, all their work being most honestly and faithfully done."⁶⁵ In 1810 a traveler who visited the Harmony Society wrote the following description:

We are struck with surprise and admiration at the astonishing progress in improvements and the establishment of manufacturies which this little republic has made in the period of five years. They have indeed made the 'wilderness to blossom as the rose.' They have done more essential good for this country in the short period of five years, than the same number of families scattered about the country have done in fifty. And this arises from their unity and brotherly love, and added to their uniform and persevering industry. They know no mercenary view, no self interest, except that which adds to the interest and happiness of the whole community.⁶⁶

In 1811, the value of Harmony Society was estimated at two hundred and twenty thousand dollars in the following categories:

9,000 acres of land, with improvements	\$90,000
Stock of provisions for one year for 800 people	25,000
Stock of goods, spirits, manufactures, leather, implements of husbandry, &c.	50,000

⁶⁵Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 54.

⁶⁶Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, pp. 54-55.

Dwelling-houses	18,000
Mills, machinery, and public buildings	21,000
Horses, cattle, hogs, and poultry	10,000
A thousand sheep, one third of them Merinoes of which one ram cost a thousand	6,000
Total	220,000 ⁶⁷

In 1812, a tragedy occurred in the Society. John Rapp, the son of Father Rapp, died at the age of twenty-nine.⁶⁸ John Rapp's death was due to an injury he received in 1810 when helping to store grain in a warehouse. He had strained his chest and contracted a case of incurable consumption. After his death an autopsy was performed and they discovered that a large portion of his chest was filled with water and one section of his lungs was destroyed.⁶⁹ This account disproves the rumor that George Rapp emasculated his son causing his death when he refused to practice celibacy and separate from his wife.

In 1812, John F. Schermerhorn and Samuel J. Mills made a missionary tour through the region of Harmony, Pennsylvania. One of their objectives was to make inquiries into the religious and moral state of affairs of the regions that they visited. Although they did not go to Harmony, they did record the opinions of the public toward the Harmonists.

⁶⁷ John Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America, pp. 315-316.

⁶⁸ Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 11.

⁶⁹ Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 32.

There is in Butler or Beaver a society of Germans, who have all things common, and are remarkable for their industry, sobriety, and order. They have a preacher of their connections with them, a man advanced in life, and very zealous in directing their attention to divine things, for which purpose they meet daily. What is the name, or what are the peculiar sentiments of this society, I know not.⁷⁰

This account pointed out the success of the Harmony Society in a short period of time, seven years. It also showed that the Harmonists were not interested in proselytizing their religious convictions since these beliefs were not known to the public.

The Harmonists developed not only their agriculture but also their manufacturing and trade. It was Frederick's idea to have diversification. During the time of the War of 1812 when there was an embargo on foreign commerce, the Harmony Society was able to sell unwashed Merino wool for two dollars a pound. Their manufactured broadcloth sold for twelve dollars a yard.⁷¹ From their industries they were able to sell, shoes, hats, leather goods, beer, whisky, wine, soap, dyes, and agricultural products. They had markets in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and other cities in the East. In their store at Harmony, "they keep an assortment of dry-goods and groceries, which they get principally from Philadelphia; and, as they disposed of them at a moderate

⁷⁰ John F. Schermerhorn and Samuel J. Mills, A Correct View of that Part of the United States which Lies West of the Allegany Mountains. With Regard to Religion and Morals (Hartford, Connecticut: Peter B. Gleason and Company Printers, 1814), p. 6.

⁷¹ Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 55.

profit, they have an extensive sale in the country."⁷²

The wealth of the Harmony Society was increasing from their economic pursuits. However, in 1813, a favorable settlement of some of the member's property claims in Germany, increased the Society's wealth by five thousand five hundred and fifty-six dollars.⁷³

In 1814, the Harmony Society started making plans to sell their settlement and move to Indiana. The decision to move to Indiana was made most likely in the winter of 1813-1814.⁷⁴ There were several reasons why the Harmonists decided to abandon Harmony, Pennsylvania. For the purpose of trade, Harmony was not ideally located. It was twelve miles east of Beaver, Pennsylvania, which was located on the Ohio River. To overcome this transportation problem the Harmonists had built a warehouse at Beaver for storing goods for shipment. However, it was still costly to transport merchandise over twelve miles of rough road to the Ohio River for shipping. By not being located on a sizeable stream or river, the Harmonists were not able to utilize water power for their industries. The prices for their products had declined. A boat load of goods had been shipped to Pittsburgh in July, 1813, and had to be sold far "below the expected price."⁷⁵ "As year by year the surplus products of the

⁷²John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 7.

⁷³John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 281.

⁷⁴John C. Andressohn, "Twenty Additional Rappite Manuscripts," Indiana Magazine of History, XLIV (March, 1948), p. 83.

⁷⁵John C. Andressohn, "Twenty Additional Rappite Manuscripts," p. 86.

community increased, and greater trade facilities were required the location proved more and more inadequate."⁷⁶ Also the climate and soil in Pennsylvania proved to be undesirable for growing vineyards. In addition, although their settlement had expanded to nine thousand acres, they needed more land since they expected other separatists from Wurtemberg to join them.⁷⁷ This additional land they could not acquire in their area at a reasonable price.

In April, 1814, Father Rapp, John L. Baker, and Ludwig Schreiber set out to find a new location for the Harmony Society.⁷⁸ The points in considering a new location were: the necessity of being near a river that was navigable and suitable for erecting a water mill; good soil and climate for growing agricultural products, particularly grapes; good markets for surplus products. "On May 10, 1814, Father Rapp wrote from Vincennes stating that they had found the best land along the Wabash and that they had already purchased a large section and were arranging for the purchase of more."⁷⁹ Here in the Territory of Indiana on the east side of the Wabash River, sixty-five miles from its mouth and forty-five miles south of Vincennes, the Harmonists would build their second community which would also be called Harmony.

⁷⁶John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 34.

⁷⁷Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XXVI (September-December, 1943), p. 110.

⁷⁸Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 110.

⁷⁹Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 111.

In selecting this location, Father Rapp had one drawback; the water level of the Wabash River did not have much of a drop and the water-driven works would have to be constructed a mile and a half from the town. With this in mind he instructed Frederick in his letter to secure a steam engine for the factories which would be erected.⁸⁰ In the same letter, Father Rapp described the new location:

The place is 25 miles from the mouth of the Wabash and 12 miles from the place where the Ohio makes its first curve from the mouth. The city will be located about around the canal, a quarter mile from the river on a plain as level as the floor of a room, about a quarter mile from the hill, which is well suited for a vineyard. This hill is worth more than the land because it contains many stones for building, and otherwise one cannot find one fifty miles around. The river is full of fish and when the water falls many barrels full are caught by people who know the places and who come from a distance of forty or fifty miles. In short, the place has all the advantages which a man could wish for.⁸¹ it a steam engine takes the place of the defects.

When Father Rapp returned to Pennsylvania, he left Baker and Schreiber in Indiana to look after the property which they had purchased and to make arrangements for the group of Harmonists who would arrive shortly to start the construction of the new community. Another reason that the two men remained was due to the squatters who were angry over the purchase of the land causing their removal.⁸² On his

⁸⁰Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 112.

⁸¹Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 112.

⁸²Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 111.

return an advertisement was placed in the Pittsburgh Gazette offering Harmony, Pennsylvania, for sale. This advertisement gave an excellent description of Harmony in 1814.

THE TOWN OF
HARMONY,

With all its Improvements, and about 9000 Acres
of LAND adjoining--on which are THREE VILLAGES,
in the tenure of GEORGE RAPP AND ASSOCIATES

IS OFFERED FOR SALE

HARMONY--Is situated on either banks of the Conoquenessing, Butler County, Pennsylvania, 25 miles west of north from Pittsburgh, and 11 miles from the Ohio river, and contains about 130 buildings and lots of ground, a number of which are brick, some frame, and the rest log. The principal buildings are, the tavern house, of stone and brick, 54 by 32 feet, containing 12 convenient apartments, with kitchen, cellar, garden, and good stabling; a store house of brick 42 by 32 feet, with an arched Cellar; a brick house for spinning and weaving, 56 by 40 feet, with a cellar under the whole; a brick house opposite the Tavern, 44 by 33 feet, with an arched Cellar--a Brick house on the adjoining Lot, 45 by 30 feet, with a Cellar--a Brick House opposite the Store, 44 by 30 feet, a cellar under the whole--a Brick House for Carding and Spinning, 50 by 40 feet, with a Cellar--a large commodious Brick House for shearing and finishing Cloth--a Brick House calculated in the best manner for Dying--two Brick Houses, 40 by 30 feet each--a Dwelling House, Brick and Frame, 50 by 30 feet, a Brick Church 75 by 45 feet. Besides several other Brick and frame dwelling Houses, there are a number of Buildings for different uses.

A Frame Granary, 80 by 40 feet, with 4 floors and machinery, well adapted to the design of the building.

Two Distilleries, one Brick, the other Stone, each calculated to distill by steam 18 bushels of grain per day.

Two Grist Mills, one first rate, on Big Conoquenessing, with one set of burrs, the other a pair of common stones--a

Fulling Mill, and convenient rooms for two sets of Wool Carding Machines, attached to it. The other Grist Mill is situated on a run with two pair of common stones--an Oil Mill on Little Conoquenessing, together with a Fulling and Hemp Mill, and one set of cotton carding machines--Two saw mills--a large convenient Tanyard, with suitable improvements,--a Brickyard--Potash Factory--Rope Walk--Brewery--a Smith Shop with 4 hearths--a Nail Factory--Buildings suited to almost every branch of Mechanism, and the Town well supplied with water, having 10 Wells with Pumps, besides 3 springs.

There is in the Town of Harmony 4 large Barns with Stables underneath, and on the Premises 7 large Sheep Stables, that will hold 3000 Sheep.

Adjacent to Harmony, and on the Premises, are Three Villages. The first is Ramsdale, half a mile north, containing about 20 Log Buildings, with convenient Barns and Stables. The second is Edenau, one mile and half east, containing about the same number of Houses, Barns, and Stables. The third is Oilbronn, two miles north, 8 or 10 houses with Barns and Stables besides several other single Farms with necessary Buildings and very handsome Improvements.

There is of the whole quantity of Land about 3000 acres remarkably well improved, and durably fenced; at least 500 acres for which are Meadow, and of the first quality.

There are two principal Orchards, containing about 2000 bearing Apple Trees, besides small ones in different parts of the farms.

Two vineyards, one of 10, the other of 5 acres, have given sufficient proof of the successes in the cultivation of vines; they are made after the European manner, at a vast expence of labor, with parapet walls and stone steps conducting to an eminence overlooking the town of Harmony and its surrounding Improvements.

There has been supported from the improvements and produce of Harmony annually 3000 sheep, 600 horned cattle and a number of horses, besides the grain to feed the distilleries, and still affording large supplies to the country.

There are quarries of good Limestone,

building stone and stone coal, and good timber for building and other uses abounding throughout the improved land.

The Soil--the most extensive part of it is of the first quality, on which are a number of good sugar camps, the situation level and rounding so as to form an agreeable variety of surface.

The man of capital who may wish to purchase will, upon viewing Harmony and its improvements, at once discover that he cannot be better suited for the purpose of farming, manufacturing, and every branch of mechanism.

Should no person or persons be inclined to purchase the whole property on or before the 1st day of October next, it will be then divided and sold in such lots and parcels as may suit purchasers.

The titles to all the above described property are indisputable. Possession will be delivered on the 1st of April next, and the terms made known by application to the subscriber residing at Harmony, Butler County.

GEORGE RAPP⁸³

The first person to show any interest in purchasing Harmony was a Mr. Horatio G. Spafford of Albany, New York in July, 1814. Mr. Spafford was acting as an agent for a group of his friends in New York. Frederick informed him that he would sell Harmony for two hundred thousand dollars. The payments could be made in four installments, fifty thousand dollars on April, 1815, and the remaining balance in the next three years.⁸⁴ However, Mr. Spafford was not interested in buying the property at that price. Again in July a Mr. R. H. Helme of Smitherfield, North Carolina, made an inquiry. In August a Mr. Daniel Reigart also made an

⁸³Pittsburgh Gazette, June 17, 1814, p. 3.

⁸⁴Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 114.

inquiry. But nothing came of these two inquiries.⁸⁵ After some time it became apparent to Frederick that it would be difficult to sell Harmony. Mr. Heckewelder, the agent for a Mr. Nicholas Kraemer who lived nearby, made an inquiry in August. Being anxious to sell Harmony, Frederick lowered the price to one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars with terms of one fourth in cash and the balance to be paid in four years or less ten per cent of the one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars if the entire amount were paid in cash at the time of the purchase.⁸⁶ It was at this time that Frederick told Mr. Godfrey Haga, a friend of Mr. Heckewelder, that the Harmony Society had made a profit in the last year which was equal to the purchase price.⁸⁷

Still unable to sell the community, Frederick engaged the firm of Baldwin and Cormwell of Pittsburgh to aid him in selling Harmony.⁸⁸ It was not until May 6, 1815, that Harmony was finally sold to Abraham Zeigler, a Mennonite from Lehigh County in Pennsylvania for one hundred thousand dollars.⁸⁹ The remaining articles that had not been taken

⁸⁵Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 115.

⁸⁶Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 115.

⁸⁷Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 116.

⁸⁸John C. Andressohn, "Twenty Additional Rappite Manuscripts," p. 87.

⁸⁹"Harmony, Pennsylvania and the Harmonites from the Historical Notes of Arthur J. Stewart, M. D.," MSS in Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, p. 10.

to Indiana were purchased by Zeigler for one thousand and six hundred dollars.⁹⁰ The terms were twenty thousand dollars payable on April 4, 1816, and ten thousand dollars each year until the balance was paid.⁹¹ Frederick did not ask for a down payment since the Society had twelve thousand dollars in the bank and he "figured the profit on the sale at eight thousand dollars."⁹² However, Zeigler was only able to pay half of the purchase price when the mortgage was settled in 1836.⁹³

The only piece of property that the Harmonists retained was the graveyard east of the village. In this graveyard were one hundred members of the Society who had died between 1806 and 1815.⁹⁴ Before the Harmonists left for Indiana, they placed a layer of broken stones two feet in depth over each grave and built a wooden fence around the cemetery.⁹⁵

By July 1, 1815, all of the Harmonists had arrived in Harmony, Indiana.⁹⁶ Within a period of ten years a group of

⁹⁰Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 116.

⁹¹John H. Wilson, The Historic Town of Harmony, p. 14.

⁹²Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp Discovers the Wabash," p. 116.

⁹³John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 40.

⁹⁴Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 11.

⁹⁵John H. Wilson, The Historic Town of Harmony, p. 16.

⁹⁶There was, however, one of the Harmonists that did not go to Indiana. His name was Johan Laudenschlager. The financial accounts of Abraham Ziegler shows that he charged Laudenschlager's obligations against George Rapp. The last item was Laudenschlager's coffin for six dollars. Arthur J. Stewart, MSS, p. 11.

nearly seven hundred German immigrants from the kingdom of Wurtemberg had built a settlement in a wilderness that became the showplace of western Pennsylvania. They started with a tract of four thousand five hundred acres of land and had been able to double its size. At first they experienced deprivations but in the end they were free from want and had become economically self-sufficient. The Articles of Association which were signed in 1805 remained the constitution of the Society unamended. With the wealth they had accumulated they purchased thirty thousand acres of land in Indiana and began to build a community that surpassed their first settlement.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY IN INDIANA

The Harmonists left Pennsylvania for a wilderness region on the banks of the Wabash River in the Territory of Indiana where they built a community called Harmony, known as the "Wonder of the West." It was here that the Society found rich soil and good climactic conditions for their crops, materials of lumber, stone, and clay for bricks, accessible water transportation, and available water power for a mill. In time a durable and pleasant looking village of some seven hundred Germans transposed a wilderness region into a thriving industrial and agricultural oasis on the frontier.

John L. Baker, Father Rapp's assistant who helped him in selecting the location for the Harmony Society in Indiana, wrote the following description of the property in 1814:

The property is covered with heavy timber -- comprising oaks, beeches, ash, three kinds of nut trees, three to four feet in diameter with trunks fifty to sixty feet high -- splendid material for all kinds of cabinet work. Gum trees, hackberry, sycamore, persimmons, wild cherries, apples and plums, also wild grapes of enormous diameter and height, all of which latter bear fruit.

There are also a large number of maple and sugar trees, from which great quantities of brown sugar can be made in the spring. Sassafras trees from two to three feet in diameter and a kind of poplar; these have a very solid wood for boards, while in the lowlands one finds very large cypresses good for articles made by the cooper and for shingles.

The forest is full of deer, antelope, bears, wolves, ground-hogs, hares, wildcats, squirrels,

snakes and wild turkeys besides there are many kinds of birds.¹

John L. Baker and Ludwig Schrieber, who remained in Indiana when Father Rapp returned to Harmony, Pennsylvania, were responsible for making the necessary arrangements for the arrival of the first detachment of Harmonists on July 11, 1814.² Before Father Rapp returned to Pennsylvania, he made application to purchase 961.92 acres of land from the United States government land office at Vincennes on May 9, 1814. In the same year, between July 18 and July 30, Baker also made application in the name of "George Rapp and his Associates" to purchase 3,710.96 acres of land.³ The purchase price of government land was two dollars an acre.⁴ By the time the first boatload of one hundred Harmonists had arrived in Indiana in the summer of 1814, George Rapp and his Associates had made application to purchase 4,672.88 acres of land primarily in Posey County, Indiana, from the federal government.⁵

¹John Samuel Duss, George Rapp and His Associates, pp. 11-12.

²William Hall, "From England to Illinois in 1821, The Journal of William Hall," edited by Jay Monaghan, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXXIX (June, 1946), p. 55.

³Government Original Entry Book, Recorder's Office, Posey County, Indiana, p. 58.

⁴Western Sun & General Advertiser (Vincennes), February 13, 1819, X, No. 1, p. 4.

⁵Charles Nordhoff states in The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 74, that the first group of Harmonists left for Indiana in June, 1814. In The Harmony Society in Pennsylvania compiled by the Federal Writers' Project, p. 11, George Rapp led the first party of one hundred men to Indiana. However, in "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," edited by John C. Andressohn, XLII (December, 1946), Indiana Magazine

The land which the Harmony Society desired and which later became Harmony, Indiana, was located in Posey County which was created by the Territorial Legislature of Indiana from the counties of Gibson and Warrick in September of 1814.⁶ On December 18, 1815, an act was passed by the Territorial Legislature which enlarged Posey County by reducing the size of Gibson County. The reason for this additional area to Posey County was due in part to the influence of the Harmony Society who owned most of their land in Posey County.⁷ On January 1, 1817, more land was again added to Posey County from Gibson County.⁸ However, on January 8, 1818, Posey County lost some of its land on the eastern boundary when Vanderburgh County was created. Thereafter Posey County

of History, p. 395, George Rapp was still in Harmony, Pennsylvania on July 2, 1814. The letters of Edward Travers Cox in "A Visit to New Harmony in 1883," XXXV (June, 1939), Indiana Magazine of History, p. 185, states that "the first detachment of Harmonists arrived at McFoden's Landing, on the Ohio River, 1814." McFoden's Landing was located at the present site of Mt. Vernon, Indiana, fifteen miles south of Harmony. Cox also states that the first detachment consisting of two or three hundred persons built a wagon road from McFoden's Landing to Harmony. This aspect of the arrival of the Harmonists in Indiana is very vague, but nevertheless, it is the writer's opinion that the first group left Pennsylvania in June and George Rapp led the second group to Harmony sometime between July and October of 1814.

⁶John C. Leffel, History of Posey County, Indiana (Chicago: Standard Publishing Company, 1913), p. 64. Posey County was named after Thomas Posey who was the last governor of the Territory of Indiana. He had been appointed in March, 1813, by President Madison. At the age of sixty-eight he died on March 19, 1818. William Wesley Woolen, Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana (Indianapolis: Hammond & Company, 1883), pp. 21, 25, 27.

⁷History of Posey County, Indiana. (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1886), p. 328.

⁸History of Posey County, Indiana, p. 329.

contained 268,000 acres or four hundred and twenty square miles.⁹ The Posey County seat was first located at Blackford which was established on January 10, 1815. On May 6, 1817, the county seat was moved to Springfield where it remained until it was finally moved to Mt. Vernon in 1825 which is the present county seat of Posey County.¹⁰

It was here in Posey County that the Harmony Society purchased 25,904.18 acres of land between 1814 and 1824. Of this amount 23,964.24 acres were purchased from the United States government at two dollars an acre which cost \$47,928.48.¹¹ Most of the land that was purchased in Posey County was in Harmony, Bethel, and Point Townships.¹² Additional land was acquired in Gibson and Pike Counties in Indiana and in White County in Illinois.¹³ The total amount of land purchased by the Harmony Society was 29,045 acres at a cost of \$70,210.44.¹⁴ The land agents who aided George Rapp in purchasing the land were Ewing and Badollet of Vincennes.¹⁵

⁹John C. Leffel, History of Posey County, Indiana, p. 64.

¹⁰History of Posey County, Indiana, p. 335.

¹¹General Index of Deeds in Posey County, Indiana: Grantee to Grantor, Recorder's Office, Posey County, Indiana, pp. 1-7. Of the 25,904.18 acres purchased 2,579.94 acres were purchased in the name of Frederick Rapp with the remaining 23,324.24 acres in the name of George Rapp. See Appendix number three for a chart of the land purchases of the Rappites in Posey County, Indiana.

¹²History of Posey County, Indiana, p. 380.

¹³Elfrieda Lang, "The Inhabitants of New Harmony According to the Federal Census of 1850," Indiana Magazine of History, XLII (December, 1946), p. 361.

¹⁴John A. Bole, "Harmony Society," p. 412.

¹⁵John C. Andressohn, "Twenty Additional Rappite Manuscripts," p. 88.

With the acquisition of land and after some of the Harmonists¹⁶ had arrived in Indiana, Frederick Rapp sent some supplies to them in the first part of November, 1814. In a letter written by Frederick Rapp to George Rapp (written in three parts, October 30, 31, and November 1) there was a list of goods sent.¹⁷ The articles included: flour, potatoes, sauerkraut, seeds, wine, hides, cloth, ovens, kettles, coffee, calendars, and sawmill parts. In the same letter Frederick Rapp wrote: "I have given J. L. Baker a package containing \$1200 in notes, which he will deliver to you. I have also given him an extra \$200 for traveling expenses."¹⁸ Apparently J. L. Baker (John Baker) had returned from Indiana to Pennsylvania to be in charge of the shipment of supplies to Indiana. The two hundred dollars for traveling expenses indicated that several other members of the Society were journeying with Baker to Indiana. In the same letter Frederick also stated: "With the next group of persons will be sent 1000 fruit trees and also all the poplars which we have here."¹⁹

On December 17, 1814, Dr. Johann Christoph Müller, Rosina Rapp, and Romelius Baker wrote to Father Rapp in

¹⁶The members of the Harmony Society in Pennsylvania were called Harmonists but they are generally called Rappites in Indiana.

¹⁷See Appendix number four for a complete list of the goods sent to Harmony, Indiana in November, 1814.

¹⁸John C. Andressohn, "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," Indiana Magazine of History, XLII (December, 1946), p. 403.

¹⁹John C. Andressohn, "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," p. 403.

Harmony, Indiana.²⁰ In the first part of this three part letter, Dr. Müller suggested to Father Rapp that the payment for the land should be made in state warrants, "because these, so far as the government is concerned, always retain a constant value."²¹ By following this advice the Society could save their silver and gold. From the second part of the letter, written by Rosina Rapp, Father Rapp's daughter, it is learned that Father Rapp's wife, Christiana Rapp, was still in Harmony, Pennsylvania and that Gertrude Rapp, Father Rapp's granddaughter, was in Harmony, Indiana. The third part or last section of the letter was written by Romelius L. Baker²² to Frederick Rapp. Apparently Frederick Rapp went to Indiana in 1814 before he completed the sale of Harmony, Pennsylvania in May, 1815 and left with the last detachment to Indiana in June of 1815. In the last part of the letter it can be deduced that the remaining members in Pennsylvania were anxious to reunite with their brethren in Indiana.²³

By the time the last segment of Rappites arrived in

²⁰Dr. Müller was the Society's medical doctor. He was born in Wurtemberg, Germany, on May 15, 1779. In October of 1813, he became a citizen of the United States. Dr. Müller withdrew from the Harmony Society sometime after 1831. John William Larner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 218. The letter that Dr. Müller sent to George Rapp was addressed to the Emersonville Post Office in Gibson County, Indiana; this was before the Rappites had a post office in Harmony, Indiana. John C. Anderssohn, "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," p. 405.

²¹John C. Anderssohn, "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," p. 406.

²²Romelius L. Baker was a brother to John L. Baker. Both Bakers were important people in the business affairs of the Society and assistants to Frederick Rapp.

²³John C. Anderssohn, "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," p. 409.

Indiana, the earlier groups had started the construction of their new community. Their attention was first directed to the building of houses. It was during the first year of establishing this settlement that many of them contracted malaria which was commonly called ague or fever on the frontier. This occurred when they began to cultivate the bottom lands in the Wabash River valley.²⁴ Since there were several marshy areas near Harmony, the malaria-bearing mosquitoes had fertile ground for breeding. Before the marshy areas were drained, many of the Rappites died. In 1814, forty-nine people died and in 1815 there were seventy deaths.²⁵ By 1815 the medical expenses of the Society had nearly doubled from the six hundred and seventy-five dollars spent in 1813 to combat the malaria epidemic.²⁶ Although Dr. Müller was not in Indiana in 1814, he, however, wrote in his letter to George Rapp on December 17, 1814, a remedy for the disease. The medical advice was directed to William, an assistant to Dr. Müller, who was in Indiana. "Hydrochloric acid is an excellent remedy in the treatment of it (malaria) if used soon enough and after the patients have been purged and given laxatives."²⁷ Additional medicines used by Dr.

²⁴Julia Henderson Levering, Historic Indiana (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910), p. 242.

²⁵John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 225.

²⁶John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 221.

²⁷John C. Andressohn, "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," p. 403.

Müller to fight the malaria epidemic were "Cinchona, or Peruvian bark, and most of the known purgatives, emetics, and daphoretics."²⁸ It is interesting to note that one of the reasons why Frederick Rapp sent all the poplars which he had at Harmony, Pennsylvania, to Harmony, Indiana, was to eliminate the malaria epidemic. In his letter of October 30, 1814, to George Rapp he stated: "I trust the streets are laid out sufficiently wide for a row of poplars on each side; this is said to be an excellent specific against fever."²⁹

Despite the obstacles and problems caused by the malaria epidemic, work still continued and by the time Frederick Rapp arrived with the last group of settlers in July, 1815, the Rappites had made recognizable progress toward the establishment of Harmony, Indiana. After Frederick's arrival in Indiana, he wrote in a letter on July 7, 1815, his impressions of the new settlement.

I found my father and all my friends well and satisfied with the change they made. Finding the land excellent and beautiful. They have done immense work, already 125 acres are in corn eight to ten feet high. Harvest began the last week in June. Wheat and rye proved very good. It appears that this country in a few years, in regard to cultivation of small grain and commerce will become one of the most important parts of the union.... The climate is somewhat warmer here than in Butler County, yet is not so extraordinary hot as the people there think.... The water is very good. Our vineyard and orchard

²⁸John William Lerner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 225. Although quinine was not known until 1820, the use of Peruvian bark contained the raw substance used in making quinine.

²⁹John C. Andressohn, "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," p. 403.

grow wonderfully, and give hopes that this country is well calculated for them.³⁰

The town of Harmony itself was located approximately one-fourth of a mile from the Wabash River. In order to have an all season approach to the river, a road was built with enough grade to be passable in times when the river overflowed.³¹ As in their previous settlement, the streets in Harmony were laid out at right angles. There were four streets running north and south and six streets running east and west.³² West Street was the first street running north and south from the river. The next street east of the river was Main Street. The south end of Main Street connected with a wagon road that led to Mt. Vernon fifteen miles south of Harmony on the Ohio River. At the north end of Main Street was another wagon road which led to a ferry landing across the river.³³ Running parallel to and east of Main Street was Brewery and East Streets in consecutive order. The

³⁰ John Samuel Duss, George Rapp and His Associates, pp. 13-14.

³¹ Joel W. Hiatt, editor, "Diary of William Owen," Indiana Historical Society Publications, IV, No. 1 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1906), p. 72. Hereafter cited as "Diary of William Owen."

³² New-Harmony Gazette (New Harmony, Indiana), October 15, 1825, p. 22. See Appendix number five for town map of Harmony, Indiana during the time of the Rappites.

³³ There was also another ferry across the Wabash River three miles south of Harmony. Morris Birkbeck, Notes of a Journey in America from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois in Harlow Lindley, editor, Indiana As Seen by Early Travelers: A Collection of Reprints from Books of Travel, Letters, and Diaries Prior to 1830 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), p. 190. Hereafter cited as Morris Birkbeck, Notes of a Journey in America.

principal street running east and west was Church Street which connected with a wagon road running east to Princeton and Evansville. The two streets north of Church Street were Granary and North and the three streets south were Tavern, Steam Mill, and South.³⁴ All of the streets were lined with lombardy poplars, but as the trees died, they were replaced with mulberry trees. "A town being thus planted with trees, has a very picturesque effect from a distance, it appearing to stand in a grove, beside the pleasant use of affording shade and shelter when walking about it."³⁵

The land surrounding the town and used for agriculture consisted of "a variety of soils, from the richest alluvion intervale, or bottom; to the third rate clay, sand, and red loam."³⁶ The bottom land of the Wabash valley was used by the Rappites to grow corn, wheat, oats, and rye. This bottom land contained a "diversified alluvion, in which sand and red loam, with a deep superstratum of vegetable mould, predominated, and is well adapted to great diversity of production."³⁷ The town of Harmony was located "on a high second

³⁴Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos in Harlow Lindley, editor, Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p. 539. Hereafter cited as Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos.

³⁵William Herbert, A Visit to the Colony of Harmony, Indiana, in the United States of America in Harlow Lindley, editor, Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p. 329. Hereafter cited as William Herbert, A Visit to the Colony of Harmony.

³⁶New-Harmony Gazette (New Harmony, Indiana), October 8, 1825, I, No. 2, pp. 14-15.

³⁷New-Harmony Gazette (New Harmony, Indiana), October 8, 1825, pp. 14-15.

intervale, or bottom, and is separated from the river by a belt of low lands."³⁸ The bottom land was bounded on the south and east by a ridge of small knolls or hills which terminated with the upland area; the northern and western boundary was the Wabash River. A mile southwest of the village on the Wabash River the Rappites also owned an alluvial island of three thousand acres. The island on the east side was separated from the mainland by a bayou two miles long. This was commonly called the "cut-off" and due to a drop in the river it afforded an useable site for constructing a mill driven by water power. The island was used as a cattle and horse pasture.³⁹

After all of the Rappites had arrived in Indiana, purchased land, and recovered from the malaria epidemic, they proceeded to construct a village which was an unique example of collective human endeavor. On December 23, 1815, Frederick Rapp wrote a letter to John Woods⁴⁰ commenting on their settlement in Indiana.

This climate seems to be very suitable for raising wine, and we shall strive to supply the western world with this article in a few years, and so we do not regret in any way the change which we have made. As our principles are both in a religious and political way to serve man, we have more opportunity here than

³⁸New-Harmony Gazette (New Harmony, Indiana), October 8, 1825, pp. 14-15.

³⁹New-Harmony Gazette (New Harmony, Indiana), October 8, 1825, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁰John Woods was a Congressman from the district of Harmony, Pennsylvania.

we had in Pennsylvania to make a wild country, fertile fields and gardens of pleasure.⁴¹

In another letter written by Frederick Rapp to John Purviance, on February 2, 1816, he discussed further the location of the Harmony Society in Indiana.

Our land is the best he (I have) seen in America, in quality and situation. Has all kinds of useful timber, abounds in fine springs, free stone for buildings, fine clay for bricks and excellent for pottery. Six miles from here on our land is good iron ore, where a furnace may be built, good navigation at all seasons. This will be in a few years the most flourishing county in the United States, not only in agriculture, but also in commerce and domestic manufacturer. The country is being settled rapidly. The climate good. The highest temperature in summer was 96°, the lowest in winter 8°.

We enjoy on an average better health than in Pennsylvania, many of us had the ague and fever last fall, but that may be attributed to change of climate. Men of learning and good moral character are very desirable in this country, that the old natives might be brought to better order through them. We have made a pretty good beginning to a new settlement, and it is admired by everybody, what the industry of a nation which lives in peace and union can do in a short time.

They have for three months hired 40 to 50 hands in clearing land, and pay them \$6 to \$8 an acre. They have 800 acres under fence; every family has a good log house. They will build better houses this summer.⁴²

The "better houses" mentioned by Frederick Rapp, were indeed examples of ingenuity and skill. Several of the homes built by the Rappites are still standing as monuments to their craftsmanship. They incorporated prefabrication and insulation in their buildings. Although these ideas are prevalent and

⁴¹John A. Bole, "Harmony Society," pp. 415-416.

⁴²John A. Bole, "Harmony Society," pp. 414-415.

common today, they were most unusual and unique in Indiana at that time and serve as further testimonials of their skills.

In the construction of Harmony, Indiana, the Rappites kept several factors in mind such as health, safety, and standardization of building materials and methods. When the Rappites arrived in Indiana, one of their first construction projects was the building of homes. Before the houses were erected, they built a sawmill and brickkilns. However, before the Rappites could build their own sawmill at the "cut-off", they purchased sawed lumber from a Mr. Shadrack Stalling and a Mr. Rabb.⁴³ The brickkilns were located two blocks south of South Street on the east side of the wagon road to Mt. Vernon.⁴⁴ The Rappites were able to construct their houses and other buildings with a great deal of speed since they had several standardized plans for house construction. The parts for a house "were prefabricated, marked with appropriate roman numeral and stored in a central repository."⁴⁵ "Timbers, planking, and lathing were mass-produced at the sawmill according to standard patterns. In this way the saw blades were not constantly being re-set to cut a variety of widths and thicknesses."⁴⁶ The first houses that were built

⁴³"A Visit to New Harmony in 1883, Letters of Edward Travers Cox," Indiana Magazine of History, XXXV (June, 1939), p. 185.

⁴⁴Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 542.

⁴⁵Don Blair, The Harmony Story (Third Edition; Mt. Vernon, Indiana: New Harmony Publications Committee, 1959), p. 23.

⁴⁶John William Lerner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 134.

were log cabins erected at the back of each lot since they intended to build frame and brick houses at the front of each lot when time permitted. Because the Rappites left a sufficient amount of space, the log cabins did not have to be moved and were then used for storage or cow sheds.⁴⁷ The houses were commonly placed on corner lots and were usually two-storied with the gable toward the street.⁴⁸ Each house was set back a few feet from the street on a lot, which was a quarter of an acre, had a yard with "shrubby, and a latticed fence in front."⁴⁹ In addition, each house had a "well cultivated garden, abundantly supplied with vegetables, and ornamented with flowers."⁵⁰ The garden not only provided vegetables for the family but increased the distance between each house in order to reduce any fire hazard. Usually there were a few fruit trees in each garden.

⁴⁷William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States and Canada During the Years. 1822-1823 in Harlow Lindley, editor, Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p. 286. Hereafter cited as William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States.

⁴⁸Letters of William Pelham. Written in 1825 and 1826 in Harlow Lindley, editor, Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p. 378. Hereafter cited as Letters of William Pelham.

⁴⁹Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising Observations on its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population (New York: Collins and Hannary, 1825), p. 163.

⁵⁰Richard Flower, Letters from Lexington and the Illinois Containing a Brief Account of the English Settlement in the Latter Territory, and a Refutation of the Misrepresentations of Mr. Cobbett. Edwin Erle Sparks, editor, The English Settlement in the Illinois (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1907), p. 17. Hereafter cited as Richard Flower, Letters from Lexington and the Illinois.

The Rappite homes were noted for being very sturdy because in the construction of the houses "mortise-and-tenon joints were used in connecting all timbers. These joints were secured with pegs made from baked green wood. The idea was that as the timbers began to dry they would also shrink, but the baked pegs would absorb moisture and expand, thus creating a very snug joint."⁵¹ Large stones were used for foundations and were also placed under the joists that supported upright timbers. This reduced timber rot and termite destruction.⁵² For insulation six inches of mud and straw were placed underneath the floors which were tongue and groove.⁵³ The chimney footings were "separate from those of the walls, thus discouraging differential settlement, caused by an uneven loading of the foundations."⁵⁴ The chimney was placed in the center of the house allowing it to accommodate more than one room. The chimney emerged at the ridge line in the roof and thus eliminated the problems of flashings which could possibly cause leaks.⁵⁵

"Dutch biscuits" and a special kind of brick were used by the Rappites for insulating their houses. A "dutch

⁵¹John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," pp. 134-135.

⁵²John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 134.

⁵³John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 135.

⁵⁴Don Blair, The New Harmony Story, p. 22.

⁵⁵John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 135.

biscuit" was made by wrapping a mixture of straw and mud around a piece of wood usually one inch thick and four inches wide. These were then placed between the ceiling of the first floor and the second floor. This then held the heat and reduced the noise from the second story. They were also "used in the attic to prevent heat transfer through the roof."⁵⁶ The special kind of brick used for insulation was porous since it was not as compact or baked as long as regular bricks. The insulating brick was then placed inside the interior and exterior walls.⁵⁷ By placing the brick inside the walls the Rappites provided a fire wall between the various rooms. A hickory lathing was used to hold about one and one-half inches of mud and straw plaster to the interior walls.⁵⁸

In the frame houses, poplar and walnut were used for construction since they had close grains which prevented possible insect infiltration.⁵⁹ The frame houses had a clapboard siding which was painted white. Near the entrance of each house, the Rappites grew a plant called tansy which repelled household pests such as flies and moths.⁶⁰ In addition, all the walls in the house were coated with lime to inhibit household insects such "as ants and/or cockroaches since the

⁵⁶Don Blair, The New Harmony Story, p. 25.

⁵⁷Don Blair, The New Harmony Story, p. 25.

⁵⁸John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 135.

⁵⁹Don Blair, The New Harmony Story, p. 25.

⁶⁰John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 214.

lime caused these pests to suffer caustic burns on their legs."⁶¹ The Rappites utilized mussel shells to make the lime, which was also used in mortar and plaster.⁶² To ventilate the houses the Rappites placed the windows directly opposite each other. When they built basements, they dug them with horse drawn shovels. Flagstones were then placed against the walls and on the floors.⁶³ In order to reduce moisture commonly found in basements, a system was devised which provided for a "tunnel about eighteen inches square sloping from the outside wall to floor of the cellar, the heavier cool air settled down the tunnel and displaces the warmed, hence lighter air and forcing it out of the house by way of a window located on the opposite side."⁶⁴ Usually there was only one entrance to the house which was at the rear. In order for each house to have an adequate water supply public wells with pumps were located at various intervals along the street. (By placing the wells along the streets they provided a water supply for the town fire engine which was an eighteen man power pumper.)⁶⁵ At the rear of each lot was a privy. Beneath the privy was a brick vault

⁶¹John William Larner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 214.

⁶²Don Blair, The New Harmony Story, p. 25.

⁶³John William Larner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 134.

⁶⁴Don Blair, The New Harmony Story, p. 23.

⁶⁵John William Larner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 137.

with an earthen floor and at frequent intervals slaked lime was deposited to reduce the odor and insects.⁶⁶

In addition to building practical, healthy, sturdy homes, they also tried to make their houses attractive. Ferdinand Ernst, a German traveler who visited Harmony in 1819, commented on the Rappite homes by stating that they were "very pretty dwelling houses."⁶⁷ Another traveler, Adlard Welby who visited Harmony in the same year, remarked that the homes of the Rappites had "an air of great comfort."⁶⁸

Although celibacy had been adopted, the family still remained together and occupied individual houses. The family became more of a house unit. The family names became less important and members were addressed as "brother and sister." When parents died, their children became members of other families; this also applied to older people when they were unable to take care of themselves. "Thus over a period of years the real family merged with, or was scattered throughout, the community."⁶⁹ "Each household carried on its own activities, such as making its butter and cheese, baking its own bread, tending its own cow and chickens and caring for its

⁶⁶John William Larner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 138.

⁶⁷Ferdinand Ernst, Observations Made Upon a Journey, MSS, p. 47.

⁶⁸Adlard Welby, Visit to North America, 1819-1820 in Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, Early Western Travels: 1748-1846 (XXXII Vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), XII, 262. Hereafter cited as Adlard Welby, Visit to North America.

⁶⁹John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 29.

own garden."⁷⁰ There were public ovens and each household could only use them at certain hours on an assigned day.⁷¹ Each household had a cow that was taken to the pasture each morning and returned each night.⁷² The milk that was not used by the household was collected each morning and evening by the milkman. He then took it to the community cheese factory to be made into cheese which was sold by the community. On the milk wagon community bulletins, which took the place of a daily newspaper, were posted. "If the community was to go a haying or a-reaping, corn husking, berrying, apple-picking or what not, the bulletin gave notice in advance. For instance: 'To-morrow (Wednesday) hay is to be made at Chinneyfield; everybody shall come and meet at 7 o'clock at the saw-mill; bring your rakes and mid-day meal.'"⁷³

The living quarters for the single adult males and females of the community were dormitories. There were four brick dormitories which provided places for sixty to eighty people.⁷⁴ The dormitories were called by numbers, one through four. Number One was two-storied and located on the northeast

⁷⁰The Harmony Society in Pennsylvania, p. 31.

⁷¹John Samuel Duss, George Rapp and His Associates, p. 47.

⁷²Elias Pym Fordham, Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky: And of a Residence in the Illinois Territory, edited by Frederick Austin Ogg (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), p. 207. Hereafter cited as Elias Pym Fordham, Personal Narrative of Travels.

⁷³John Samuel Duss, George Rapp and His Associates, p. 50.

⁷⁴John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 40.

corner of West and Steam Mill streets. It contained sixteen large rooms. Number Two⁷⁵ was three stories high with the upper story formed by the mansard roof. It was located on the east of Main Street between Church and Brewery streets. The last dormitory was Number Four which was also two-storied. It was located on the north side of Church Street between Brewery and East Streets. All of the dormitories were forty by seventy feet.⁷⁶ A hallway ran down the center of each one with the rooms for women on one side and the rooms for men on the other side. In each room there was an individual stove for heating.⁷⁷ East of Number Two was a community kitchen for the residents of the four dormitories.⁷⁸

Across from Number Two on the northwest corner of Church and Main streets was Father Rapp's house. When William Cobbett, an English traveler, visited Harmony in 1818, he described Father Rapp's home as resembling a bishop's palace.⁷⁹

⁷⁵According to William Owen in 1824, forty people only lived in this dormitory. After the Rappites left Indiana and during the time of Owen's colony, this building was the first free public school in America. This building is still standing today.

⁷⁶Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 540.

⁷⁷Donald McDonald, "The Diaries, 1824-1826," edited by Caroline Dale Snedeker, Indiana Historical Society Publications, XIV, No. 2 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944), p. 247. Hereafter cited as Donald McDonald, "The Diaries, 1824-1826."

⁷⁸Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 540.

⁷⁹William Cobbett, A Years' Residence in the United States of America in Harlow Lindley, editor, Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p. 518. Hereafter cited as William Cobbett, A Years' Residence in the United States. In 1879 Rapp's home was partially destroyed by fire but was rebuilt and is presently standing. Dr. J. Schneck, The History of New Harmony, Indiana (Evansville, Indiana: Courier Company, 1890), p. 5.

William N. Blaney, a traveler, described the same house as "very large and handsome, and would be esteemed a good house in any part of Europe."⁸⁰ Another traveler, William Herbert who visited Harmony in 1822 stated that the home of Father Rapp "is a large square mansion of brick, having a good garden and suitable outhouses attached."⁸¹ The front of the house faced Main Street with seven windows on the lower floor as well as in the upper story.⁸² On the west side of the house there was a one-storied ell. It had a sandstone foundation about four feet high. On the east and south sides of the house was a large porch. The hallways inside the house ran east and west.⁸³ The house was "surrounded with shrubbery and pleasure grounds, but rather distinguished for capaciousness than taste."⁸⁴ The cellar of the house was used for storing wine and cider.⁸⁵ Most likely George Rapp had an interest in science for he had an observatory on top of his house.⁸⁶ Also on top of the house were two lightning rods.⁸⁷

⁸⁰William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States and Canada, p. 287.

⁸¹William Herbert, A Visit to the Colony of Harmony, p. 329.

⁸²Letters of William Pelham, p. 378.

⁸³Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 540.

⁸⁴Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, p. 170.

⁸⁵"Diary of William Owen," p. 77.

⁸⁶William Tell Harris, Remarks made During a Tour Through the United States of America in the Years. 1817. 1818. and 1819 (London: Printed for Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1822), p. 135.

⁸⁷Bernhard Karl, Duc of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, Travels Through North America. 1825-1826 in Walter Havighurst, editor,

At the rear of Father Rapp's house was an extensive garden in design with a variety of plants and shrubs. Henry R. Schoolcraft who visited Harmony in 1821 described Father Rapp's garden in the following manner:

He (Father Rapp) invited us to walk out and view the garden and grounds, which are extensive, and laid out with comparative taste. A profusion of fruit trees, flowers, and shrubbery, both indigenous and exotic, is a characteristic feature. We here saw the fig, lemon, and orange, flourishing in the open air, although it is necessary to nourish them in a hot-house, during the greatest part of the year. In a central area of the garden, a circular hillock, formed chiefly of petrifications and incrustations from a neighbouring spring, affords an agreeable contrast with the flowering shrubs, by which it is surmounted."⁸⁸

It was also in this garden that Father Rapp's greenhouse was located. It was about "20 x 20 feet, supported on rollers with lower foundation timbers twice the width of the house. On these rails on which the grooved rollers travelled, allowing^{ed} the building to be moved back and forth. In each side of the house was a liberal supply of glass windows, and the room was heated with the old style of tinplate stoves."⁸⁹ Inside the greenhouse were planted various kinds of tropical fruits, flowers, ferns, and herbs which were used for medical purposes.

On the same grounds where Father Rapp's house was located and at the rear of the house was a rock slab of limestone

Land of the Long Horizons (New York: Coward-McCann, Incorporated, 1960), p. 232. Hereafter cited as Bernhard Karl, Travels Through North America.

⁸⁸Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, p. 170.

⁸⁹Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 542.

composition of a grayish-blue color containing recognizable impressions of human feet. This piece of limestone rock has often been referred to by various writers as the "Angel Stone" or "Gabriel's Rock."⁹⁰ The measurements of the limestone slab which was broken into two pieces was eight by five feet and eight inches thick.⁹¹ Frederick Rapp found the stone near St. Louis and had Mr. John Jones, a stone-mason, cut the stone which he then had transported to Harmony.⁹² This type of limestone formation with impressions of human feet was common around St. Louis. Ferdinand Ernst in 1819 commented on the limestone formations around St. Louis by stating: "In the rocks are found most remarkable impressions... for example perfect impressions of feet, hands, bows, and arrows of the Indians, so that one is inclined to believe this stone was in earlier times such a soft mass that it could receive impressions, whereupon then these hard masses of

⁹⁰Due to the various anecdotes that were circulated concerning the limestone slab with the impressions of human feet, it was called "Gabriel's Rock" or the Angel Stone." The most popular anecdote was that in order for Father Rapp to increase his power over his followers he told them that the Angel Gabriel had visited him to give him instructions from God. To make the people believe this he played on their superstitions by telling them that the footprints on the limestone slab were those of the Angel Gabriel, "...who had alighted on earth to warn mankind that the destruction of the world was near at hand." Dr. J. Schneck, The History of New Harmony, Indiana, p. 5.

⁹¹Edward E. Moore, A Century of Indiana (New York: American Book Company, 1910), footnote 1, p. 270.

⁹²Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, p. 178.

stone have been formed by nature and time."⁹³ This limestone slab at Harmony caused a great deal of scientific inquiry. In 1819, when S. H. Long's expedition visited Harmony, Edwin James, a botanist and geologist, wrote a descriptive account.

There is now in the possession of Mr. Rapp, of the Society of the Harmonites, a stone, which has upon its surface marks that appear to have been formed by the naked feet of some human being, who was standing upon it while in a plastic state; also an irregular line, apparently traced by a stick or wand, held in the hand of the same person. This stone was taken from the slope of the immediate bank of the Mississippi below the range of the periodical floods. To us there seems nothing inexplicable or difficult to understand its appearance.

Nothing is more probable, than that impressions of human feet made upon that thin stratum of mud, which was deposited on the shelvings of the rock, and left naked by the retiring of the waters, may, by the induration of the mud, have been preserved, and at length have acquired the limestone. This supposition will be somewhat confirmed, if we examine the mud and lime deposited by the water of the Mississippi, which will be found to consist of such an intimate mixture of clay and lime, as under favourable circumstances would very readily become indurated. We are not confident that the impressions above mentioned have originated in the manner here supposed, but we cannot by any means adopt the opinion of some, who have considered them as contemporaneous to those casts of submarine animals, which occupy so great a part of the body of the limestone. We have no hesitation in saying, that whatever those impressions may be, if they were produced as they appear to have been by the agency of human feet, they belong to a period far more recent, than that of the deposition of limestone on whose surface they are found.⁹⁴

⁹³Ferdinand Ernst, Observations made Upon a Journey Through the Interior of the United States in "Travels in Illinois in 1819," Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1903, No. 8, p. 152.

⁹⁴James's Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-1820 in Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, Early Western Travels:

In 1821 Henry R. Schoolcraft, an ethnologist, visited Harmony and also wrote another descriptive account.

The impressions are, to all appearance, those of a man, standing in an erect posture, with the left foot a little advanced and the heels drawn in. The distance between the heels, by accurate measurements, is six and a quarter inches, and between the extremities of the toes, thirteen and a half. But, by a close inspection, it will be perceived, that these are not the impressions of feet accustomed to the European shoe; the toe being much spread, and the foot flattened, in the manner that is observed in persons unaccustomed to the close shoe. The probability, therefore, of their having been imparted by some individual of a race of men, who were strangers to the art of tanning skins, and at a period much anterior to that to which any traditions of the present race of Indians reaches, derives additional weight from this peculiar shape of the feet.

In other respects, the impressions are strikingly natural, exhibiting the muscular marks of the foot with great precision and faithfulness to nature. This circumstance weakens very much, the supposition that they may, possibly, be specimens of antique sculpture, executed by a former race of men inhabiting this continent. Neither history nor tradition has preserved the slightest traces of such a people. For it must be recollected, that, as yet, we have no evidence that the people who erected our stupendous western tumuli possessed any knowledge of masonry, far less of sculpture, or that they had even invented a chissel, a knife, or an axe, other than those of porphyry, hornstone, or obsidian.

The average length of the human foot in the male subject may, perhaps, be assumed at ten inches. The length of each foot, in our subject, is ten and a quarter inches; the breadth, taken across the toes, at right angles to the former line, four inches; but the greatest spread of the toes is four and a half inches, which diminishes to two and a half at the heel. Directly before the prints, and approaching within a few inches of the left foot, is a well-impressed and deep mark, having some resemblance to a scroll, whose greatest length is two feet seven inches, and greatest breadth twelve and a half inches.⁹⁵

1748-1846 (XXXII Vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), XIV, 109-110.

⁹⁵Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 174-175.

Opposing opinions to the above accounts by Ernst, James and Schoolcraft were contained in a letter written by Thomas H. Benton, senator from Missouri, to Henry R. Schoolcraft on April 29, 1822. Referring to the human footlike impressions in the limestone formation he wrote:

I do not think them "impressions," but the work of hands, and refer their existence to the age of the mounds upon the American bottom, and above the town of St. Louis. My reasons for this opinion are: -- 1. The hardness of the rock. 2. The want of tracks leading to and from them. 3. The difficulty of supposing a change so instantaneous and apropos, as must have taken place in the formation of the rock, if impressed when soft enough to receive such deep and distinct tracks.⁹⁶

In addition, Robert Owen's son, David Dale Owen, a geologist for the state of Indiana and a scientist of reputation, held that the "limestone formation belonged to the Paleozoic age -- an age beyond an reasonable possibility of human habitation upon the earth. The footprints and scroll had been carved artificially, doubtless by the Indians in comparatively recent times."⁹⁷

Across from the grounds of Father Rapp's house on the south side of Church Street between West and Main Streets were located the two Rappite churches, one frame and the other brick. The white frame church was built during 1815. It was one of the first large buildings in Harmony being seventy-five feet long and fifty wide.⁹⁸ On each side of the church

⁹⁶Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 177-178.

⁹⁷Edward E. Moore, A Century of Indiana, footnote 1, p. 270.

⁹⁸Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 16.

were six large arched windows and at each end there were two other windows. In the gables of the two-storied church were round windows. On the east end of the roof was a belfry twenty by twenty feet and twenty feet high with two large slanted windows on each side. Inside the belfry was a large and a small bell. Above the belfry was a cone shaped clock room with hexagonal sides which contained the clock mechanism about six feet square and in height. On the northeast and southeast sides of the clock room were two clock faces eight feet in diameter. On each hour the clock struck the large bell and on the quarter hour the smaller bell rang. At a distance of seven miles one could hear the sound of the two bells.⁹⁹

The frame church later became too small for the community and in 1822 a larger two-storied church was constructed of brick and shaped in the form of a Maltese cross directly west of the old church.¹⁰⁰ Another reason why the Rappites decided to build a new church was that the old church of wood was too uncomfortable during the hot summer months.¹⁰¹ In each of the four wings of the church there was an entrance. Above the north door, made of cherry wood and the main entrance, was a pediment on which was carved a rose

⁹⁹Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 541.

¹⁰⁰According to legend the design of the new church was conceived by Father Rapp from a divine revelation he had. George Flower, History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, Chicago Historical Society's Collections, I (Chicago: Fergus Printing Company, 1882), p. 280.

¹⁰¹William Herbert, A Visit to the Colony of Harmony, p. 335.

encircled by a wreath and the date of 1822. Also carved on the pediment was an inscription, Micah 4:8. The Bible verse read: "Unto thee shall come the golden rose, the first dominion." The carvings on the pediment were done by Frederick Rapp.¹⁰² The Biblical reference to the golden rose was the symbol of the Harmony Society and a golden rose was stamped on the products sold by the Society.

There is a lack of clarity as to the actual dimensions of the church. When Harmony was sold, the advertisement listed the church as one hundred and twenty-five feet by one hundred and thirty feet.¹⁰³ George Flower who was the agent for the Rappites when they sold Harmony stated that the distance between the east and west doors as well as between the north and south doors was one hundred and twenty feet.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²Dr. J. Schneck, The History of New Harmony, Indiana, p. 5. When the Rappite brick church was razed, the north door and pediment were saved and it may be seen today as the west door of the Harmony public grade school.

¹⁰³"Particulars of the Settlement and Town of Harmony, State of Indiana, North America," MSS, Microfilm Copy, Indiana State Historical Society Library, Indianapolis.

¹⁰⁴George Flower, History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, p. 280. Other accounts state the following dimensions: The width of the Church from east to west was one hundred and thirty feet and the length north and south was one hundred and twenty feet. Dr. J. Schneck, The History of New Harmony, Indiana, p. 4. Each of the four wings were fifty by twenty five feet with the center of the church being eighty by eighty feet. Christiana F. Knodler, The Harmony Society, p. 17. All four wings were forty by forty feet and the center of the Church was eighty by eighty feet. Edward Travers Cox, "A Visit to New Harmony in 1883," p. 186. The width of each wing was fifty feet and the center of the Church was about seventy feet each way. Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 541.

Each of the four wings was two stories but the center section or nave was only one story which extended twenty-eight feet above the four wings and had a bee-hive dome with a lookout at the top.¹⁰⁵ The dome was encircled with a banister forming a balcony which was used at times as a bandstand.¹⁰⁶ The dome was supported by twenty-eight pillars made from walnut, cherry, and sassafras which formed arcades to each wing.¹⁰⁷ The pillars were six feet in circumference and twenty-five feet high which "stood on a large moulded base of the same wood, about forty feet in height from the foundation."¹⁰⁸ A short bridge connected the upper story of the east wing with the upper story of the old frame church.¹⁰⁹ The rooms in the upper story of both churches were used for storing the manufactured products as well as the grain of the community.¹¹⁰ The cellar of the brick church was used for storing wine, beer, whiskey, and cider. One of the rooms in the upper story of the new church was never completely finished when the Rappites left Harmony in 1825.¹¹¹ George Flower in 1824 stated that

¹⁰⁵Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 17 and Edward Travers Cox, "A Visit to New Harmony in 1883," p. 186.

¹⁰⁶Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 541.

¹⁰⁷George Flower, History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, p. 280.

¹⁰⁸Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 541.

¹⁰⁹Edward Travers Cox, "A Visit to New Harmony in 1883," p. 186.

¹¹⁰William Herbert, A Visit to the Colony of Harmony, p. 335.

¹¹¹Donald McDonald, "The Diaries, 1824-1826," p. 247.

the Rappite church was a "surprisingly large building for this new country."¹¹² William Herbert, an English traveler who visited Harmony in the latter part of 1822, described his impressions of the new Rappite church when he wrote: "I could scarcely imagine myself to be in the woods of Indiana, on the borders of the Wabash, while pacing the long resounding aisles, and surveying the stately colonades of this church."¹¹³

East of the two churches was a square and on the south side of the square was the community tavern or inn. William H. Blaney commented on the Rappite tavern as being so "clean, comfortable, and well arranged, that I was quite delighted."¹¹⁴ The tavern was a two-storied frame structure thirty by sixty feet and fronted on Main Street.¹¹⁵ In front of the tavern was a painted sign which read "Private Entertainment." Since the Rappites forbade disorderly conduct and drunkenness in their tavern, the sign enabled them to enforce this regulation by expelling patrons who were guilty of such action.¹¹⁶ Elias P. Fordham, a traveler who visited Harmony in 1817, stated

¹¹²George Flower, History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, p. 280.

¹¹³William Herbert, A Visit to the Colony of Harmony, p. 335.

¹¹⁴William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States and Canada, p. 287.

¹¹⁵Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 539. According to William Faux who visited Harmony in 1819, he described the tavern as being built of brick. William Faux, Memorable Days in America, 1819-1820 in Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, Early Western Travels: 1748-1846 (XXXII Vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), XI, 249. Hereafter cited as William Faux, Memorable Days in America.

¹¹⁶"Diary of William Owen," p. 71.

that the conduct in the tavern was "the most orderly and cleanly manner that a tavern can be in America, where men spit every where, and, almost on everything."¹¹⁷ Instead of the usual cuspidors, the cuspidors found in the tavern and other buildings were made of cedar and also contained chips of cedar. The cedar chips absorbed the spittle, and other obnoxious odors were eliminated by the cedar scent. Twice a year in order to keep the tavern clean, the Rappites scrubbed the floors with sand, then used a lye soap mixture to wash the floors.¹¹⁸ The sleeping rooms of the inn were furnished simply with a chair and four beds.¹¹⁹ William Cobbett, who was a patron in 1818, described the tavern as "a good comfortable house, well kept by decent people, and the master himself, (innkeeper) who is very intelligent and obliging, is one of the very few at Harmony who can speak English."¹²⁰

Across from the tavern on the corner of Main and Tavern streets was the Rappite store. In their store they sold manufactured products and agricultural produce from the community. They also sold goods, such as spices, which they purchased in eastern cities. The Rappites enjoyed a good business since "the neighbouring settlers for many miles round resort to this, not only on account of the excellence,

¹¹⁷Elias Pym Fordham, Personal Narrative of Travels, p. 206

¹¹⁸John William Larner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 214.

¹¹⁹William Faux, Memorable Days in America, p. 248.

¹²⁰William Cobbett, A Year's Residence in the United States, p. 515.

but also the cheapness of the goods."¹²¹ However, all goods had to be paid for in cash since no credit was allowed.

The many articles that were sold in the Rappite store were produced in the many and varied industries of the Harmony Society. The industries or factories were scattered throughout the town. Under the leadership of Frederick Rapp the Harmony Society sought to increase its wealth through industrial development. By having a diversified economy of manufacturing and agriculture they could become relatively self-sufficient and more able to avoid the consequences of a fluctuating farm or industrial market. The basis of their manufacturing was to use the surplus agricultural products such as wool, cotton, flax, hemp, and grains. All the members of the community were assigned to certain trades such as working in the dye house, distillery, flour mill, tailor shop, and other industries. At the head of each trade was a foreman who managed the work. Whenever an outsider wanted to have his wheat milled into flour, the foreman made the charges and gave a receipt to the customer. The money was then turned over to Frederick Rapp who had charge of all the financial affairs of the Society.

One of the most important industries was the making of cloth. The wool was obtained from their own sheep which approximated two thousand in 1820; many of these sheep were

¹²¹William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States and Canada, p. 287.

Merinoes.¹²² In sheering the sheep both men and women did the work and the average fleece weighed about four pounds.¹²³

In addition to wool production the Rappites grew cotton which averaged eight hundred to one thousand pounds per acre.¹²⁴ The Society had a cotton gin where they processed not only their own cotton but cotton raised by their neighbors. The cotton gin had forty saws and was driven by oxen walking on a tread mill.¹²⁵ The machinery in the linen, cotton, and woolen factories which made cloth were powered by a steam engine of sixty horse power.¹²⁶ (A steam engine in a frontier region was quite unusual. It showed the interest which the Harmony Society had in developing their industries to their fullest capabilities.)

In the manufacturing of cloth they had a fulling house,¹²⁷ four power looms, spinning machine, and a machine for cutting nap. Most of their machinery was made of wood.¹²⁸ They

¹²²John Woods, Two Years' Residence in the Settlement of the English Prairie, in the Illinois, Country, United States in Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, Early Western Travels: 1748-1846 (XXXII Vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904), X, 313. Hereafter cited as John Woods, Two Years' Residence in Illinois.

¹²³"Diary of William Owen," p. 133.

¹²⁴"Diary of William Owen," p. 124.

¹²⁵"Diary of William Owen," p. 88.

¹²⁶New-Harmony Gazette (New Harmony, Indiana), October 15, 1825, p. 22.

¹²⁷In a fulling house the cloth is cleaned and thickened by moistening, heating, and pressing.

¹²⁸"Diary of William Owen," p. 75.

could make four pairs of stockings per day from coarse material and one and one-half pairs from fine material.¹²⁹ For dyeing the cloth, the Rappites had their own dye house made of brick and produced their own dyes. By using the root of the madder plant they produced a red dye. Inside the dye house they had several copper vessels that contained between fifteen hundred and two thousand gallons.¹³⁰ They also made hats from fur, wool, and straw. William N. Blaney commented on their clothing industry by stating: "Their broad cloth is very good; and their flannel of so excellent a quality, many of the English settlers at Albion say, that it is superior to the best Welsh flannel they brought out with them."¹³¹

Another important industry was the making of wine, cider, beer, and whiskey. For the making of wine and cider the Rappites had their own vineyards and orchards. In the press house was a large wooden screw attached to a stone six feet in diameter and twelve inches thick for extracting the juices from the apples and grapes in making cider and wine.¹³² The grapes were picked in the fall for making wine. In a letter written by Romelius L. Baker to Mr. H. Eddy, editor of the Illinois Gazette of Shawneetown, he discussed the making of wine at Harmony.

¹²⁹"Diary of William Owen," p. 109.

¹³⁰New-Harmony Gazette (New Harmony, Indiana), October 22, 1825, I, No. 4, p. 30.

¹³¹William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States and Canada, p. 287.

¹³²Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 542.

Then they (grapes) are bruised and put in tubs, untill the juice has settled to the bottom and the recrements to the top, which separation will take place in warm weather in two or three days, then the juice is tapd (sic) off, and the recrements pressed out, and put in Bbls not bungd (sic) up tied untill the wine has undergone its fermentation, and then it is fit for use, but the older the better. Nothing requires more patience and longer perseverance, and if successful, nothing produces, not pays, ¹³³ better for Labour than the cultivation of wine.

From their brewery they made Bamberg beer.¹³⁴ In order to have an adequate amount of water in making five hundred gallons of beer each day, the Rappites placed a dog inside a tread wheel about twelve feet high which furnished the power to pump the water.¹³⁵ Water used for the distillery was also pumped the same way. They could produce twelve gallons of whiskey in about six hours.¹³⁶ Two miles south-east of town on Gresham's Creek they had another distillery which was smaller but could produce twenty gallons of whiskey daily.¹³⁷

The many other industries operated by the Rappites included chandlers who made a thousand candles a day; rope-makers who manufactured six thousand pounds of rope in a

¹³³Letter from Romelius L. Baker, Harmony, Indiana, to Henry Eddy, Shawneetown, Illinois, February 8, 1820. MSS. Henry Eddy Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois. Hereafter cited as letter from Romelius L. Baker to Henry Eddy.

¹³⁴Ferdinand Ernst, Observations Made Upon a Journey, MSS, p. 43.

¹³⁵Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 543.

¹³⁶John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 47.

¹³⁷"Diary of William Owen," p. 106.

season from flax and hemp; blacksmiths who made scythes, axes, cutlery, and products from tin with their six forges; tanners who made leather for shoes, saddles, and harnesses; and carpenters who made wagon wheels and wagons. In addition, they also had a brass foundry. Most of the various small industries were housed in log cabins.

Aside from the many factories were the various mills and a threshing machine. This threshing machine which was built by the Rappites was an important advancement in separating small grains. The old method of separating the kernels from the cut grain by having cattle and horses walk on it was slow and unclean. Due to the mechanical ability of the Rappites their threshing machine saved them three-quarters of the usual time and was more sanitary. The threshing machine was operated by twenty people and eight horses which could thresh twenty bushels of wheat in an hour. Ferdinand Ernst described the mechanical operation of the threshing machine in 1819 in the following account.

The rod which the horses turn first sets in motion a drum - almost like that in which we wash potatoes - and this drum does the threshing. Then it turns two cylinders against each other, like our potato mill. The cylinders leave a space of an inch and a half between them which opening is turned towards a table upon which a person spreads out the grain - a moderate sized armful at a time - the heads being always turned toward the machine. The cylinders quickly draw in the grain and the drum immediately beats it out clean. The straw appears not to pass into the drum but to fall down between it and the cylinders where it is forced out behind by the wind, which serves for cleaning out the grain, and by an arrangement which works like our pitchfork. The clean grain is received in

front and at the side the chaff and cheat, each one separately.¹³⁸

The wheat was then taken to one of the two grist mills to be milled into flour. About a mile southwest of town at the "cut-off" was one of the grist mills. A dam was placed across the bayou and a wooden three-storied mill was constructed.¹³⁹ The mill contained two stones for flour and one stone for corn mill. From one bushel of wheat they could mill forty pounds of flour and from one bushel of corn they could mill forty-four pounds of corn^{meal}¹⁴⁰. In a period of twenty-four hours the Rappites were able to mill fifty-six barrels of flour.¹⁴¹ The other grist mill was located in the village and was run by steam power. The Society did custom milling for the surrounding neighborhood.

In order to have lubrication for their machinery, the Rappites erected two water driven oil mills about two miles southeast of town on Gresham's Creek.¹⁴² Oil was made from linseed, hemp, walnuts, flax, rape, poppy seeds, and pumpkin seeds. They also discovered that oil could be extracted from well dried peach kernels. "Upon the first trial they (Rappites) pressed out seven pecks of such kernels, five gallons of excellent oil."¹⁴³

¹³⁸Ferdinand Ernst, Observations Made Upon a Journey, MSS, pp. 44-45.

¹³⁹Donald McDonald, "The Diaries, 1824-1826," p. 249.

¹⁴⁰William Hall, "From England to Illinois in 1821," p. 54.

¹⁴¹"Diary of William Owen," p. 77.

¹⁴²Edward Travers Cox, "A Visit to New Harmony in 1883," p. 186.

¹⁴³Western Sun (Vincennes, Indiana), October 30, 1824, p. 3.

The Rappites were not only interested in manufacturing but also in agriculture. By the time the Rappites left Indiana they had three thousand acres under cultivation.¹⁴⁴ The various fields were divided off with either board or rail fences and lanes were arranged for the passage of livestock to the pasture acres.¹⁴⁵ In cultivating the land the Rappites let half of their land lay fallow for half a year.¹⁴⁶ They used two bushels of wheat seed to plant one acre of wheat.¹⁴⁷ The farm lands of the Society were described as "cultivated like a garden."¹⁴⁸ The crop yields were ^{seventy}~~twenty~~ five bushels of corn per acre while their neighbors averaged only fifteen bushels of wheat per acre and forty bushels of corn per acre.¹⁴⁹ Other crops grown were cotton, oats, rape, flax, hemp, hops, and barley.

The number of people involved in the harvesting of the crops usually was between one hundred and fifty to two hundred people which included both men and women.¹⁵⁰ In the village

¹⁴⁴"Particulars of the Settlement and Town of Harmony."

¹⁴⁵Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, p. 164.

¹⁴⁶Ferdinand Ernst, Observations Made Upon a Journey, MSS, p. 46.

¹⁴⁷William Faux, Memorable Days in America, p. 248.

¹⁴⁸John Melish, A Geographical Description of the United States, in Harlow Lindley, editor, Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p. 272. Hereafter cited as John Melish, A Geographical Description of the United States.

¹⁴⁹"Diary of William Owen," p. 88.

¹⁵⁰The married women were excused from the harvest work in the morning in order to do their culinary duties. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, p. 167.

square the harvesters assembled with their sickles and rakes around four o'clock in the morning. Then they marched to the fields led by a band. The band played music at regular intervals while the workers harvested the grain. "At 6 A.M. a light breakfast would be brought to them, and another meal at 10 A.M. and still another at 3 P.M. In this way a field of wheat of seventy acres or more would be cut and shocked by 6 o'clock in the afternoon."¹⁵¹ When the harvest was completed, the band led the workers back to town. The band served as a stimulant for the workers and encouraged them to continue their tasks thus decreasing or eliminating indolence and laxity. As the workers went to and from the fields "the men marched first, the women next, and the rear rank composed of young women, with each a neat ornament of striped cedar wood on their head, formed one of the prettiest processions I ever witnessed."¹⁵²

For storing the surplus of their crops the Rappites built two large granaries, one frame and the other brick, with three stories, and dimensions of sixty by forty feet.¹⁵³ In storing sacks of grain in the upper stories the Rappites

¹⁵¹ Edward Travers Cox, "A Visit to New Harmony in 1883," p. 187.

¹⁵² Richard Flower, Letters from Lexington and the Illinois Containing a Brief Account of the English Settlement in the Latter Territory, and a Refutation of the Misrepresentation of Mr. Cobbett in Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, Early Western Travels: 1748-1846 (XXXII Vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904), X, 99. Hereafter cited as Richard Flower, Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, Thwaites, X.

¹⁵³ "Particulars of the Settlement and Town of Harmony."

used a large tread wheel with a man walking inside.¹⁵⁴ The one granary which was made of brick and stone was also built like a fort. It stood on the south side of Granary Street between West and Main streets. The first story was made of freestone taken from a quarry near the cut-off and was two feet thick. On the east and west side of the building were six portholes and on the north and south (the front and rear of the granary) were two portholes. These portholes could be closed with wooden shutters on the inside and with iron bars on the outside. There were three entrances to the building, on the east, west, and north side. The walls of the two upper stories were made of brick. The first and second floors were covered with nine inch square tiles and the third floor was wood. The roof was hipped and covered with seven by twelve inch tiles.¹⁵⁵ The construction materials used in this building which was a granary as well a fort made it almost safe from fire. The reason for such a building was to provide protection against any possible Indian attack. But a stronger reason lay in the possibility of an attack by river pirates that were known to exist on the Ohio River which was only one hundred miles away.

Another facet of the Rappite agricultural activities was their vineyards and orchards. When the Society left Indiana, they had three vineyards consisting of twelve acres.

¹⁵⁴Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, p. 168.

¹⁵⁵Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 542.

Two of the vineyards were located on the hills south of the town and one on a plain.¹⁵⁶ John Woods who visited Harmony in 1820 described the vineyards.

I took a look at their vineyards; part of the vines were trained on frames, and part tied up to small poles; there was a good show of grapes on many of them. The vineyards are on a steep hill, and planted round the hill, so as to have several different aspects. Trees are laid to keep the earth from washing down. The paths between the trees are sown with blue-grass.¹⁵⁷

In the same letter of Romelius L. Baker to Mr. H. Eddy cited earlier he also discussed the growing of grapes at Harmony.

...I must inform, that the Climat &c. of this Country is better suited to the vine, than that of Harmonie in Penna, a still more Southern Latitude would be more congenial, provided the good soil is deep and strong to keep moist in long dry seasons, a loose thin sandy ground will not do, even with us here. The present extent of our Vineyard is about ten acres, and the greater part of the vines are too young to bear, and many were imported from Germany, France, Spain, Italie &c. whereof the proper mode of managing in this Climat and soil, has not been discovered yet, only tow or three kinds have been productive with us, and bore abundantly this two years past, though being mixed with other vines on the same ground, we cannot give an accurate estimation of the production per acre the time is too short for a certain Result, it requires four years from the planting of Slips untill they bear grape. The proper trimming and cultivating of vines is impossible to describe, the necessary method is different with most every kind of vine, soil and climat, and can only be discovered by a well experienced Person, by making many and often fruitless experiments for several years, allthough the vines may grow and bear some grape, yet never or seldom produce that abundant Crop, which we have

¹⁵⁶William Hall, "From England to Illinois in 1821," p. 54.

¹⁵⁷John Woods, Two Years' Residence in Illinois, p. 316.

known in Germany, where the proper cultivation, soil, and climat had been found out¹⁵⁸ to perfection for every kind of vine....

Not far from the vineyards, south and west of the town were thirty five acres of peach, apple, pear, plum, and cherry orchards. Also in the town there was a small orchard, half a block in size, on the north side of Granary Street between Main and Brewery streets. "Great pains seem to have been taken by Mr. Rapp, to introduce the best varieties of apples, pears, peaches, plums, etc."¹⁵⁹

Another horticultural activity of the Rappites was a botanical garden consisting of five acres south of the town. On the outer edges of this garden were planted dwarf fruit trees and vegetables. Toward the center of the garden were planted flowering shrubs and various medical herbs.¹⁶⁰ In the center of the garden was a small circular temple constructed of wooden blocks about twelve inches long with a point at one end giving the exterior sides a rude appearance.¹⁶¹ Growing on the sides of the temple were grapes and flowering vines. The interior of the temple was neatly finished. Radiating from this building at a distance of one hundred and forty feet in diameter was a labyrinth.¹⁶² The

¹⁵⁸Letter from Romelius L. Baker to Henry Eddy.

¹⁵⁹New-Harmony Gazette (New Harmony, Indiana), October 8, 1825, p. 14.

¹⁶⁰Richard Flower, Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, Thwaites, X, p. 100.

¹⁶¹Diary and Recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, p. 543.

¹⁶²New-Harmony Gazette (New Harmony, Indiana), October 15, 1825, p. 22.

labyrinth consisted of "numerous circuitious walks enclosed by high beech hedges and bordered with flowery shrubbery, but arranged with such intricacy, that, without some Daedalus to furnish a clue, one might wander for hours, and fail to reach the building in the centre."¹⁶³

There were two purposes for this botanical garden with the labyrinth. First, it supplied the necessary medical herbs for the Society's doctor. Second, the garden was emblematical of the spirit of Harmony. The difficulty in finding one's way through the labyrinth to the temple represented man's toil to achieve a state of peace and happiness. "Thus George Rapp had sought to shadow forth to his followers the peace and social harmony. The perplexing approach, the rough exterior of the shrine, and the elegance displayed within were to serve as types of toil and suffering, succeeded by happy repose."¹⁶⁴

Within a few years Harmony proved to be economically profitable. The products which the Rappites sold were known to be of a good quality. In addition, they had a reputation for honesty which contributed to their commercial prosperity. The Harmony Society employed business agents to handle their products in the following towns: New Orleans, James Olde and Company; Pittsburgh, Abashai Way and Company; Louisville, Mr. Phillips; St. Louis, Frederick Dent; Vincennes, J. D. Hay;

¹⁶³Robert Owen, Threading My Way (New York: G. W. Carleton and Company, 1874), p. 243.

¹⁶⁴Robert Owen, Threading My Way, p. 243.

Shawneetown, John Caldwell; Albion, Moses Smith.¹⁶⁵ When the Rappites sent a boatload of merchandise to Pittsburgh or to New Orleans, they received in return merchandise such as gun powder, coffee, and window glass which they sold at their community store. The Harmony Society then advertised these products in newspapers in surrounding towns, for example in the Illinois Gazette at Shawneetown, Illinois, the Republican at Edwardsville, Illinois, and the Western Sun at Vincennes, Indiana. The following are advertisements which appeared in the Western Sun that were either inserted by Frederick Rapp or J. D. Hay.

NEW GOODS

The Harmonie society have just received from Philadelphia and Baltimore, a general assortment of

MERCHANDISE,

of every description, consisting of

DRY GOODS,

Well adapted for all seasons,
an extensive assortment of
HARDWARE & CUTLERY,
QUEENSWARE,
FRESH GROCERIES,
particularly COFFEE, direct from Havana,
Writing and Wrapping paper,
Window Glass, 8 by 10, & 10 by 12,
Hollow Glass ware,
Castings, Nails, and Salt,
Spanish Segars by the box, &c.

And have also on hand of their own
MANUFACTURE AND PRODUCTIONS,

A Large Assortment of
Superfine, Fine and common Woolen Cloths,
Cassimers, Cassinets, Flannels & Linsey,
Domestic Cottons, as
Plaids, Stripes, Chambrays Checks,

¹⁶⁵John A. Bole, "Harmony Society," p. 417.

Brown & Bleached Shireing & Sheeting,
Bedtick, Diaper & Counterpins,
White & blue Cotton Yarn,
Wool & cotton Stockings & Socks,
Buckskin Gloves,
Fur, Merino, and common Wool Hats,
Boots and Shoes,
Saddles and Bridles,
Spanish and country sole Leather,
Saddlers - - - do.
Upper - - - do.
Calf Skins,

Red and white Wine,
Whiskey, Gin, Persico,
Peach Brandy, and Strong Beer,
Flour, Flaxseed Oil, Soap, Candles, &c.

All which they offer by wholesale and
retail, at reduced price for Cash, at their
storehouse in Harmonie, Indiana. FRIDK. Rapp.¹⁶⁶

HARMONIE

WOOL FACTORY

The subscriber informs his friends and
the public in general, that he cannot receive
any more wool to be manufactured, but still
continues to full cloths and cord wool for the
country as usual.

Persons having dressed cloths etc. with
Mr. J. D. Hay and Mr. A. Petterson at Vincennes
are requested to take them away, as I cannot
be responsible to them for motheatings or other
damages.¹⁶⁷

J x D. HAY,

Respectfully informs his friends and
the public in general, that he has received
from HARMONIE, in this state, a

LARGE & GENERAL ASSORTMENT
of
Super Fine,
Fine and Coarse Cloths,
and Flannels,

¹⁶⁶Western Sun and General Advertiser (Vincennes,
Indiana), July 12, 1823, p. 3.

¹⁶⁷Western Sun and General Advertiser (Vincennes,
Indiana), May 18, 1822, 16, p. 2.

well adapted to the present & approaching season.
These goods are of superior quality, and will be
sold for Cash,

By Wholesale or Retail,
he has also received from the same place

A Quantity of
Old Whiskey, Merino Hats,
and Woolen Socks.¹⁶⁸

MEDICINLS

The subscriber informs hereby the
PHYSICIANS in the Western Country, at the
public at large, that the HARMONIE SOCIETY
have just received a very good and general
assortment of

DRUGS AND MEDICINLS

and offer to sell them at reasonable prices
for cash, at their DRUGGIST SHOP in Harmonie,
Indiana.¹⁶⁹

NOTICE

The season of the ripe Grapes commences
about the first of September and lasts from
four to six weeks. Those persons who may
wish to purchase some of the production of
the Vine cultivated on the Wabash may be
supplied at 12½ cents per pound, by apply-
ing at the Tavern in Harmonie.¹⁷⁰

SHEEP! SHEEP!

The Subscriber offers for sale in the
town of Harmonie a number of

MERINO SHEEP

consisting of rams. Weuhers and Ews,
which can be had on moderate terms.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Western Sun (Vincennes, Indiana), November 22, 1817,
p. 3.

¹⁶⁹ Western Sun and General Advertiser (Vincennes,
Indiana), June 21, 1823, p. 3.

¹⁷⁰ Western Sun and General Advertiser (Vincennes,
Indiana), September 8, 1821, p. 3.

¹⁷¹ Western Sun (Vincennes, Indiana) August 21, 1824,
p. 2.

In their business activities, the Rappites only accepted specie or United States Bank notes.¹⁷² Since the Harmony Society accumulated a great deal of specie in the commercial transactions, they often provided a service of discounting bank notes of eastern cities for people who desired gold or silver.¹⁷³

For their agricultural and forest products (corn, wheat, oats, hops, hemp, flax seed, tobacco, sugar linen, wax, horses, cattle, cheese, butter, hides, fur, and shingles) in 1818, they received \$13,141.83 and in 1819, \$12,441.83. In addition, other products sold between 1817 and 1820 included: barley, rye, sheep, venison, pork, hog fat, bacon, tallow, bristles, geese, feathers, quills, eggs, honey, baskets, bags, cloth, wool, flax, thread, yarn, powder, tar, grass seed, apples, cider, chairs, hog skins, wolf skins, bear skins, horsehides, muskrats, raccoons, rabbits, otters, minx, and beavers. Seven hundred and twenty-two skins were sold in 1817 and six hundred and forty-five skins in 1819.¹⁷⁴ The following is an example of a cargo of merchandise sent by the Harmony Society to New Orleans in 1823: "39 kegs of lard, 100 kegs of butter, 680 bushels of oats, 88 barrels of flour, 103 barrels of pork, 32 oxen, 16 hogs, and 40 barrels of whiskey."¹⁷⁵

¹⁷²William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States and Canada, p. 289.

¹⁷³William Herbert, A Visit to the Colony of Harmony, p. 33.

¹⁷⁴John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 417.

¹⁷⁵John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," pp. 417-418.

In an effort to expand their commercial interests, the Rappites established a mercantile store in Shawneetown, Illinois. Shawneetown was southwest of Harmony on the Ohio River and by using the water route of the Wabash and Ohio Rivers, it was only fifty-one miles from Harmony. Before John Caldwell became the agent for the Harmony Society in Shawneetown, Captain Chris Hobson and Joseph Hayes held the agency.¹⁷⁶ On January 1, 1824, a contract or agreement was made between Frederick Rapp and John Caldwell which made the latter the clerk or storekeeper of the "Harmonie Store."¹⁷⁷ Caldwell was to operate the "Harmonie Store" and also to be in charge of the warehouse in which Frederick Rapp stored goods for shipment to other sections of the country. The warehouse as a repository for goods was maintained at Shawneetown due to the transportation outlet on the Ohio River. Caldwell was given the right to employ another young man to assist him on the approval of Frederick Rapp who paid for his services. Caldwell was required to keep a daily account of the goods sold and at the end of each week to deposit the receipts in the Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown. He was only to accept cash or marketable produce for the merchandise he sold. In return for his services, Frederick Rapp paid him

¹⁷⁶Frederick T. Wessel, "Shawneetown and the Harmony Society," Paper read before the Illinois State Historical Society, Shawneetown, Illinois, July 3, 1960. MSS, Indiana State Historical Society, Library, Indianapolis, Indiana, p. 4.

¹⁷⁷Contract between Frederick Rapp and John Caldwell. MSS, John Caldwell Collection, Indiana State Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, Indiana. See appendix number six for a copy of the contract between Frederick Rapp and John Caldwell.

five hundred dollars a year. The agreement remained in effect until 1828 -- even after the Rappites returned to Pennsylvania. However, in 1826 there were two alterations to the original contract: the warehouse was discontinued relieving Caldwell of that responsibility, and the pay for Caldwell's assistant was to be shared jointly. On April 11, 1828, Frederick Rapp wrote to John Caldwell stating that the Harmony Society had decided to discontinue the "Harmonie Store."

...As we cannot think of continuing the store any longer under existing circumstances, there is altogether too much Risk on our Side, and by far too much Responsibility, trouble & anxiety on the part of the Superintendant (Caldwell) in Season of High water where several removals are necessary, as it has been the case this year.¹⁷⁸

During the five years that the Rappites maintained a store at Shawneetown, they sold \$60,336.14 $\frac{1}{2}$ of merchandise.

In another Illinois town, Albion, the Rappites carried on a very lucrative business. George Flower, one of the founders of Albion, Illinois, which was an English settlement twenty-five miles west of Harmony, stated that in the first three years of their community they purchased many supplies from the Rappites. Flower's first bill came to eleven thousand dollars and later he paid them additional large sums. Between the years of 1818 and 1824 the people of Albion purchased one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of

¹⁷⁸Letter from Frederick Rapp, Economy, Pennsylvania, to John Caldwell, Shawneetown, Illinois, April 11, 1828. MSS, John Caldwell Collection, Indiana State Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

merchandise from the Harmony Society.¹⁷⁹ It was through their commercial activities that the Rappites were able to sell the surplus of their community and to acquire great wealth. Harmony developed into a very important business center in the midwest.

Due to the commercial interests of the Harmony Society, Frederick Rapp took an active interest in the tariff and money issues of the day. Frederick Rapp favored a high protective tariff in order to protect their manufacturing. He felt that a high tariff would provide an incentive to encourage domestic manufacturing. He also believed that the revenue sources of the tariff should be used to develop internal improvements which would help to open new markets. In a letter written by Frederick Rapp to Samuel Patterson on February 12, 1824 he stated:

It is very desirable that the efforts of those patriotic members now in Congress, should meet with success in their endeavors to lay heavy duties on all such foreign commodities, which could be manufactured in our own country if the undertakers were better supported by the government. Where else may the now languishing farmer look for a market with any certainty to sell his surplus products, but to numerous and extensive manufacturing establishments within our own country? While the latter are forsaken, the farmer after toils and perils in quest of a market for the fruits of his industry, arrives at his journey's end, where the great influx from every direction has glutted the stores and warehouses with superabundance, has the misfortune of seeing his last hope vanishing and himself doomed to sacrifice his cargo and return home with an almost empty purse and broken heart to

¹⁷⁹George Flower, History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, p. 278.

his needy and disappointed family. Such are the pictures daily witnessed, and we regret that the means to better their condition is seemingly denied to them. May a wise policy govern in future our legislators to promote the welfare of the country.¹⁸⁰

The other issue of sound money was important to the Rappites in their commercial transactions. An attempt was made by the Indiana state legislature to establish a sound banking system in 1817. The Vincennes Bank in that year was made a state banking institution with a capital stock of one and one-half million dollars and it was to have fourteen branch banks located throughout the state. The thirteenth branch was to be organized by Frederick Rapp, Thomas E. Castleberry, and Thomas Gibson in Posey County with a capital stock of ten thousand dollars. However, this branch of the Vincennes Bank was never formed and sound currency was still scarce.¹⁸¹ In a letter written by Frederick Rapp in 1819, he stated: "Worse than robbery is yet the depreciation of state paper currency."¹⁸² Due to the wealth and commercial activities of the Harmony Society, Frederick Rapp was elected on March 24, 1821 as a member of the board of directors of the Vincennes Bank. Within a short time, the Vincennes Bank became insolvent and the state banking system of Indiana

¹⁸⁰John Samuel Duss, George Rapp and His Associates, pp. 20-21.

¹⁸¹Logan Esarey, "State Banking Indiana, 1814-1873," Indiana University Studies, I, No. 15 (April 15, 1912), Published by the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana, 1913, p. 227.

¹⁸²John Samuel Duss, George Rapp and His Associates, p. 20.

collapsed.¹⁸³ When the Harmony Society left Indiana in 1825, no solution had been devised to remedy the depreciation of state bank notes and to establish a sound currency system.

In affairs of state and local government the Harmony Society, through Frederick Rapp, played a significant role. Harmony with a population around seven hundred people could not be overlooked. The population of Posey county in 1815 was one thousand six hundred and nineteen and of this number three hundred and twenty were white males over the age of twenty-one.¹⁸⁴ When Indiana was admitted into the Union, a constitution was drawn up at Corydon. Members to the state constitutional convention were elected on May 13, 1816, according to the proportion of population of each county in the Territory of Indiana.¹⁸⁵ There were thirteen counties which elected forty-three delegates to attend the constitutional convention that lasted from June 10 to June 29.¹⁸⁶ Frederick Rapp was listed as a delegate from Gibson county along with David Robb, James Smith, and Alexander Devin.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³Logan Esarey, "The First Indiana Banks," Indiana Magazine of History, VI (December, 1910), p. 147.

¹⁸⁴W. W. Thornton, "Constitutional Convention of 1816," Report of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of State Bar Association of Indiana, (Indianapolis: Harrington and Folger, 1912), p. 107.

¹⁸⁵William Monroe Cockrum, Pioneer History of Indiana, (Oakland City, Indiana: Press of Oakland City Journal, 1907), p. 390.

¹⁸⁶William Wesley Woollen, Daniel Wait Howe, and Jacob Piatt Dunn, (editors), "Executive Journal of Indiana Territory, 1800-1816," Indiana Historical Society Publications, III, No. 3 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1900), p. 87.

¹⁸⁷All accounts list Frederick Rapp as a delegate from

In order for the convention to meet its operating expenses, Frederick Rapp loaned the state of Indiana ten thousand dollars.¹⁸⁸ On June 12, 1816, committees were formed to write the constitution and Frederick Rapp was a member of the executive department committee. The issue which caused the greatest debate in the convention was slavery. However, the pro-slavery delegates were outnumbered by thirty-four to eight. Frederick Rapp was one of the thirty-four who opposed the existence of slavery under the constitution.¹⁸⁹

Again in 1820, Frederick Rapp was called upon to perform another service for the state of Indiana. The state legislature decided to select a new capital site which was more geographically centered in the state than was Corydon. On May 23, 1820, Frederick Rapp became a member of the commission to select the new state capital site.¹⁹⁰ The chairman of the commission was George Hunt, the secretary was John Gilleland,

Gibson County; however, it is the writer's opinion that this is an error. Gibson County is directly north of Posey County and when the village of Harmony was first established it was located in Gibson. But on December 18, 1815, a section of Gibson County which included Harmony, was made a part of Posey County. Frederick Rapp should have been listed as a delegate from Posey County along with David Lynn. William Monroe Cockrum, Pioneer History of Indiana, p. 390.

¹⁸⁸ Logan Esarey, "Organizing a State," Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1916), Indiana Historical Society Publications, VI, No. 1 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1919), p. 100.

¹⁸⁹ W. W. Thornton, "Constitutional Convention of 1816," pp. 127-128.

¹⁹⁰ The John Tipton Papers, Compiled by Glen A. Blackford, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942), p. 221.

and the other members were Joseph Bartholomew, John Conner, Jesse B. Durham, Thomas Emerson, Stephen Ludlow, William Prince, and John Tipton.¹⁹¹ The capital site which the commission selected is the present day capital of Indiana, Indianapolis.

The wealth of the Harmony Society was becoming well known and on January 25, 1824, Samuel Merrill, state treasurer of Indiana, visited Harmony in order to secure a loan for the state of Indiana which was having financial difficulties.¹⁹² Frederick Rapp responded by loaning the state of Indiana five thousand dollars. It was to be repaid in four years at six per cent interest. The payment was to consist of \$3,805 in specie and the remaining balance in treasury notes.¹⁹³

Also on the local government level, Frederick Rapp was important in the Posey County government. When the county seat of Posey was moved from Blackford to Springfield in May of 1817, Frederick Rapp was made county agent. The site of one hundred acres for the new county seat at Springfield was donated by Frederick Rapp.¹⁹⁴ As county agent, Frederick Rapp

¹⁹¹William Wesley Woollen, Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana (Indianapolis: Hammond and Company, 1883), pp. 188-190.

¹⁹²John C. Andressohn, editor, "Three Additional Rappite Letters," Indiana Magazine of History, XLV (June, 1949), p. 185.

¹⁹³Logan Esarey, editor, "Governors' Messages and Letters of Jonathan Jennings, Ratliff Boon, and William Hendericks; 1816-1825," Indiana Historical Collections, III (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1924), pp. 490-491.

¹⁹⁴History of Posey County Indiana, p. 335.

was to lay out the town, advertise lots for sale, and take bids for building a courthouse and jail. The brick court house which was built at Springfield cost \$4,500 and was forty by forty feet. The carpentering work for the courthouse was contracted by Frederick Rapp. However, after having assisted the county, Frederick Rapp resigned as county agent in 1818.¹⁹⁵ The Rappites had shown not only interest in building their own settlement but in giving aid and assistance to Posey County and to the state of Indiana.

In a few years the Rappites had converted a large tract of frontier wilderness into prosperous, productive, useful land. They had utilized their resources in agriculture and industry to supply the necessary products of daily life for themselves as well as for their neighbors; they had provided examples for their neighbors of scientific farming methods and advanced industrial techniques; they had participated in the development of the state of Indiana yet had never used the votes of Harmony for political gain; they had shown what could be accomplished through communitarian effort and through combined ability. This united accomplishment was achieved not only by diligence and hard work but through a harmonious spirit which was the outstanding characteristic of their Society--a spirit which pervaded their labor, religion and daily life.

¹⁹⁵History of Posey County Indiana, p. 336.

COMMUNAL LIFE AND RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY

One of the reasons for the success of the Harmony Society was their united and collective effort in all of their activities. In the Rappite communitarian colony the individual was secondary to the group; individual preferences secondary to the general welfare. The various endeavors of the Rappites were characterized by a standardization and similarity due to their belief in equality and harmony among the members. This was found not only in their daily activities but also in their spiritual beliefs. Life in the community was geared to a set pattern in which each individual with his particular tasks and abilities contributed to the benefit of all.

A typical day in the Harmony Society started at dawn. Since the Rappites did not have alarm clocks, they were awakened with the sound of French horns between five and six o'clock.¹ After having breakfast between six and seven o'clock (the single adult males and females who lived in the dormitories ate in the community dining hall whereas

¹Richard Flower, Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, Thwaites, X, 13.

the various families or household units prepared their own food and dined together), the Rappites went to their different assigned tasks, working in the factories or fields. In mid-morning they stopped their work to have a small lunch at nine o'clock and at noon they had their third meal of the day. Before the day was over, the Rappites had two more meals, a light lunch at three o'clock and their supper between six and seven o'clock.²

The food was obtained in part from each household's garden, cow, and chickens, but additional food such as coffee, spices, and flour were secured by simply going to the community store or to the flour mill. Twice a week the village butcher slaughtered the necessary number of hogs, cattle, and sheep to supply the community with meat. He then made his rounds to the various homes and rapped on the windows to call each woman to come and get her meat allotment.³ It was not unusual for the Society's agent in New Orleans to ship citrus fruits occasionally to the Rappites. As one author commented: "It is obvious that the Harmonists (Rappites) were not ascetics in the realm of dietetics. Their recipe books testify to the fact that their food items were prepared with a pleasing degree of culinary

²George B. Lockwood, The New Harmony Movement (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), p. 22.

³John Smauel Duss, George Rapp and His Associates, p. 51.

frill."⁴ In short, the Rappites did not have to worry about an adequate supply of foodstuffs and they were fortunate to have a variety of foods. However, according to William N. Blaney, there was an apparent distinction in the quality and quantity of food between that of the families of Father Rapp and the various superintendents in the community and that of the other members of the Society. He stated that the other members of the community were "limited to coarse, though wholesome food, are debarred the use of groceries &c., have a less quantity of meat, and are even obliged to make use of an inferior kind of flour."⁵

Aside from having the necessary amount of food, the Rappites were never limited in the other necessities of life. The tailors, dressmakers, and cobblers made all the clothes and shoes for the people of the community. The dress of the Rappites was characteristic of the old world. There was no universal uniform adopted but all of the Rappites dressed similarly and very plainly. William Faux, a traveler who visited Harmony in 1819, described their dress as "... rather shabby, just as working folk in general look."⁶ During the week the men wore dark green trousers of homespun material, waist jackets of a blue cotton fabric, and broad-brimmed

⁴John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 211.

⁵William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States and Canada, p. 289.

⁶William Faux, Memorable Days in America, p. 250.

straw hats with a steeple-crown. The women's apparel consisted of full dresses or skirts which were dark, dull blue, heavy, and full. Over the skirts and dresses they also wore a loose coat of white linen. To cover their heads they wore stiff blue Norman caps.⁷ As the Society prospered, the members were able to have more of their clothes made from linen, cashmere, silk, and cotton. For personal hygiene the under-clothing of the Rappites was made of flannel which was easy to wash. This was important for one of the common problems on the frontier was the itch which was caused by lack of bathing and unclean undergarments.⁸ The shoes and boots made by the village cobbler were waterproof "... by coating them with a heated mixture of one pint of drying oil, two ounces of spirits of yellow wax, two ounces of spirits of turpentine, and one half an ounce of Burgundy pitch."⁹ On Sunday the men wore long black coats and the women dressed in gowns and bonnets.¹⁰ However, at no time did the Rappites use jewelry.¹¹ Although the Rappite dress was plain and simple it was more than adequate for the frontier.

⁷Katharine Evans Blake, Heart's Haven (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1905), p. 7.

⁸John William Larner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," pp. 212-213.

⁹John William Larner, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 213.

¹⁰The Harmony Society in Pennsylvania, p. 32.

¹¹Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 88.

The wearing apparel of the Rappites does not completely describe the physical appearance of the people. William Faux, described the women as being "intentionally disfigured and made as ugly as it is possible by art to make them...."¹² Adlard Welby, another traveler, also concurred with Faux when he said: "The women, to use the phrase of a polite man, are the least handsome I ever beheld; the colony therefore may possibly not be much disturbed by female intrigues, a cause of embroilment among mankind."¹³ William N. Blaney, in 1822, stated: "They are very grave and serious. During the whole time I was at Harmony, I never saw one of them laugh...."¹⁴ The lack of gaiety and dullness which Blaney observed was also noted by Adlard Welby but in a more understanding and sympathetic attitude.

There was, I must confess after all, a dull sameness pervading the place, which I am willing to attribute rather to the phlegmatic German character than to their institutions. There is too, a depression of spirit which hangs about every man, far removed from the county which gave him birth, from those early scenes of childhood upon which his eye first rested with delight, and from those friends he ne'er shall see again. Expatriated communities, like plants removed from the seed bed, for awhile

¹²William Faux, Memorable Days in America, p. 250.

¹³Adlard Welby, Visit to North America, p. 266.

¹⁴William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States and Canada, p. 290.

sicken; but if planted in a genial soil they in time take firm root, again spread their leaves, and flourish.¹⁵

Robert Dale Owen described the Rappites by saying that their faces showed the signs of hard work and were often sad. However, "they looked well fed, warmly clothed, and seemed free from anxiety."¹⁶ Since the Rappites did not have to be concerned with securing the essentials of life, they could direct their attention to other matters.

The Rappites were not solely interested in the necessities of life as shelter, food, and clothing, but also in education. Dr. Muller who was the community doctor was also the schoolmaster. The children of the community were required to go to school from the ages of six to fourteen.¹⁷ The subjects taught were writing, arithmetic, geography, reading, history, and English. German, the language of the Rappites, was used in conducting the classes.¹⁸ The school was in session only in the morning and the afternoon was set aside for the students to learn one of the trades in the community.¹⁹ Besides teaching the fundamentals of education,

¹⁵Adlard Welby, Visit to North America, p. 266.

¹⁶Robert Owen, Threading My Way, p. 243.

¹⁷William Alfred Hinds, American Communities, p. 75.

¹⁸John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 29.

¹⁹John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 9.

the Rappites encouraged the children to learn a vocation or trade of their own choosing. Above all, the school stressed the importance of collective endeavor for the community and its welfare.

Another vocation of Dr. Muller was the operation of the community printing press.²⁰ The first publication was in 1824 entitled Eine Kleine Sammlung Harmonischer Lieder which was a book of poems.²¹ The poems were written by several members of the Society and were of a religious nature. Another publication consisted of a book of hymns which they used in their church services. The most important publication was a book entitled the Thoughts of the Destiny of Man, Particularly with Reference to the Present Times. This was published in 1824 and consisted of a philosophical discussion of religion based on the ideas of Herder, a German philosopher.²²

The Harmony Society also had a library due primarily to Frederick Rapp's influence. One of the noted books in the community library was Messias written by a German poet, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock. In 1821, when John L. Baker

²⁰"A Rappite, Harmony, Song-Book," Indiana Magazine of History, V (June, 1909), p. 76.

²¹Karl J. Arndt, "The First Wabash Song," Indiana Magazine of History, XXXVIII (March, 1942), p. 82.

²²John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 54.

and J. Reichert went to Germany to collect inheritances of the members,²³ Frederick Rapp had them buy "... books, a small, telescope, a new kind of instrument called the Jubel horn, a camera obscure, and astronomical charts."²⁴

Another cultural aspect of the Rappites was their appreciation for music. Besides the community band they also had a chamber orchestra consisting of three violins, a bass, a clarinet, a flute, and two French horns.²⁵ In addition, they also had a grand pianoforte.²⁶ Once a week on Sunday they had a concert and played both secular and sacred music.²⁷ In addition to instrumental music the Rappites were fond of singing. The songs sung by the Rappites were usually religious and spirited. "These German songs extol, sometimes in not unpoetic measures, the beauty of the Harmony community, the love and passion of Christ, and the beauty of heavenly virtues."²⁸ The most popular song was written by George and Frederick Rapp which was "Harmony, thou Brother State." The following is the first and twelfth verse.

²³John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 281. J. L. Baker and J. Reichert were able to get 20,706 Gulden (approximately \$8,300) in inheritances for the members of the Harmony Society.

²⁴John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 53.

²⁵John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 30.

²⁶Adlard Welby, Visit to North America, p. 266.

²⁷Elias Pym Fordham, Personal Narrative of Travels, p. 207.

²⁸Christopher B. Coleman, "Some Religious Developments in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, V (June, 1909), p. 61.

Harmony, thou Brother State,
Peace unto thee ever.
God be with thee soon and late,
Foes affright thee never.
For it doeth now appear
Thou are steadfast, Holy.
God unto His flock is near
And He will extol thee.

God, we pray Thee, with Thine eye
Watch o'er and protect us:
Thou, alone, canst satisfy,
Guide us and perfect us:
Thine, with heart and soul, are we
Let us grow in measure,
That, Immanuel, in Thee,
We may find our pleasure.²⁹

The following is another popular song of the Rappites which was sung in their religious service and was entitled "Children of Friendship and Love."

Children of friendship and love, lift your voices,
Sing the sweet bond that uplifts and rejoices.
Joyfully sounding divine friendship's praises,
Join the great hymn the angelic host raises;
In grateful homage to heavenly love
Swing your glad hearts to the other above.

Lo! from the throne there the bright fountain gushes;
Through the wide heavens the crystal flood rushes--
Pure holy friendship, from sun to sun beaming,
Filling all space with its blessed mild beaming!
Love rules the universe; through it alone
Can real blessedness ever be known!

In bonds of friendship the spheres are united;
Seraphs and angels in friendship are plighted.
Patient and loving, it meets ev'ry trial;
Freely forgives, with divine self-denial.
Were its pure ray into hell to descend,
Hell at that moment would come to an end.

Friendship is shield against arrows of malice,
Holds to the suff'rer the life-giving chalice,

²⁹Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 79.

Gives to the starving friend food to restore him,
Warns and protects him when danger hangs o'er him,
Brings to the dying couch heavenly rest,
Folds the poor erring one close to the breast.

Angel of friendship, abide with us ever;
Comfort and guide us; abandon us never.
Fill ev'ry spirit with good will to others;
Grant us in friendship and love to be brothers.
Hate and suspicion, depart from our ways!
Angel of friendship, we bring thee our praise!³⁰

In these two songs the idea of harmony and friendship was prevelant; these ideas were cardinal principles of the Rappites.

The musical abilities of the Rappites were not used solely in religious services but also in their holidays. The Rappites celebrated the following eight holidays: Harmoniefest, Harvest Home, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, Love Feast, and Pentecost Day. The first two holidays were secular celebrations and the other six were holy days. Each holiday started in the morning around five o'clock when the band played music from the church steeple.³¹ On all of the occasions the community assembled in the church for singing and an address delivered by Father Rapp. No work was required during the holidays and there was a large feast.³² Harvest Home was celebrated in early August and corresponded to our present day Thanksgiving.³³ The other secular holiday was

³⁰Paul G. Brewster, "Three Songs from New Harmony," Indiana Magazine of History, XLVII (September, 1951), pp. 263-264.

³¹Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 124.

³²Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 87.

³³The Harmony Society of Pennsylvania, p. 18.

Harmoniefest which commemorated the organization of the Harmony Society and was on February 15. William Owen who was at Harmony in 1825 described the Harmoniefest in the following manner.

They began with music between five and six o'clock and at 9 they went to church; at 12 they dined and remained together with a short interval until near five o'clock; and at 6 they supped and remained together till after 9 o'clock. Part of the day was probably employed in getting a knowledge of the state of their affairs. They have now been united 20 years. They transacted no business at the store but many persons arrived on business and were disappointed as they had not given any notice of the intended holiday before. This the Americans thought they should have done. But they seem to wish to throw a veil of secrecy over all their proceedings. Before breaking up at 5 o'clock, they marched out of the church in closed ranks preceded by their music, all singing. They halted before Mr. Rapp's house and sang a piece of music and then dispersed.³⁴

Of the holy holidays, the Love Feast was held in October and was the equivalent to the Lord's Supper.³⁵ At this time all the members were required to forgive any member who had done an unjust act and to have a spirit of harmony toward all members. Pentecost Day was of special significance to the Harmony Society. It corresponded to our Memorial Day when they honored the deceased members of the Society; on

³⁴"Diary of William Owen," pp. 116-117.

³⁵Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 87.

this day the band led a procession to the cemetery where Father Rapp delivered a sermon.³⁶

The Rappite cemetery consisted of two acres and was located at the west end of Granary Street.³⁷ The idea of perfect equality in the Harmony Society even existed in their burial. Whenever a member of the community died, there was no public funeral nor did they adhere to a period of mourning. The deceased was buried at midnight on the day of death. The only persons attending the funeral were Father Rapp and the elders of the church. The grave was leveled, sodded over, and left without a marker or tombstone. However, a diagram of the burial sites was kept by Father Rapp.³⁸ When the Rappites left Indiana, they had buried two hundred and thirty members of the Harmony Society in their cemetery.³⁹

Although several of the Rappites died in Indiana, the Harmony Society was able to secure new members. In October of 1817 the Society was enlarged when they accepted one hundred and thirty immigrants from Wurtemberg, Germany.⁴⁰

³⁶Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 124.

³⁷J. Schneck, The History of New Harmony, p. 5.

³⁸Arthur H. Estabrook, "The Family History of Robert Owen," Indiana Magazine of History, XIX (March, 1923), p. 66.

³⁹Irene Macy Strieby, "Old Number 53 and Some of its Occupants at New Harmony on the Wabash," MSS, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Indiana, p. 4.

⁴⁰William Alfred Hinds, American Communities, p. 76.

In that same year there was a crop failure in Wurtemberg and many Germans left to settle in Russia and America. The immigrants who joined the Society were either friends or relatives of the Rappites. Many of the immigrants who joined the Society were families with children,⁴¹ With the additional members that they acquired, there were seven hundred and forty-one people in the Harmony Society in 1820.⁴²

In order to become a member of the Harmony Society an individual had to meet certain requirements. An applicant had to have good moral character, agree to obey the regulations of the Society, and be willing to do his share of the work in the community. Before a person could become a member, he was placed on probation for one year. However, before the applicant was even placed on probation, he had to make a complete confession of all his past sins to one of the elders

⁴¹Karl J. Arndt, "World War II and the Russian Co-Religionists of the Harmonists," p. 10.

⁴²John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 306. The following chart gives a break down of the ages and number of males and females in the Harmony Society in 1820.

	Males	Females
Age ten or below	35	27
Age eleven to sixteen	73	0
Age seventeen to eighteen	53	68
Age nineteen to twenty-six	27	56
Age twenty-seven to forty-five	65	86
Age forty-six and over	125	106

See Appendix seven for a complete list of the adult members of the Harmony Society in 1824.

of the Society and express a desire to live according to the teachings of Jesus Christ.⁴³

During the probationary period the individual worked for the Society and in return the Society provided him with room, board, and necessary clothing. During this period if the person decided not to join the Society or if the Society felt that the individual was not suitable, either party could discontinue. In addition, before the applicant became a member of the Society by signing the Articles of Association, he had to give all of his property to the community and learn the German language.⁴⁴

The Rappites made no effort to secure members who were not of German origin. In 1822 a Chester Chadwick, an American, sought to gain membership in the Society but was refused. Although Chester Chadwick was a native of the country, this was not the sole reason that he was denied membership. In a letter written by Frederick Rapp to Chester Chadwick one can see the principles on which the Rappites accepted new members.

Your letter of the 15th ult. came to hand, in which we discover you desire to be admitted into our Society, with your family, in order to get rid of the trouble and care which is requisite to support and procure an honest living for yourself and family; which is a good meaning so far, yet we doubt very much whether you could submit

⁴³Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 87.

⁴⁴John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 307.

to our regulations and manner of living, for no person here possesses anything as his own, nor can anybody act or do according to his own will, every member of the community must be obedient to the ordained superintendents, which is very hard for people, who have not the kingdom of God for their chief object. For the fundamental principles, whereupon our community is established, are altogether religious. The religion of Jesus is practised here in fact, no unrighteous man can abide here, far less a daring sinner, who lives yet in vices; therefore one has to bethink himself better before joining our Society than you perhaps are aware of. We advise you not to do it. We have not admitted any person this long time, having been so often deceived by people who lived here one or two years, and finding the path to follow Jesus too narrow, they break off and calumniate us; then all our trouble spent to make them better was lost. The German language is also the only one spoken here, which you do not understand, and in consequence could derive no benefit from church or school.

Content yourself for a while yet, the best way you can, a greater plan will develop itself perhaps before long, when all the honest and upright which are now scattered here and there through the world may be relieved from their burden.

Your well wisher,

FREDERICK RAPP.⁴⁵

In some instances members of the Harmony Society were expelled; others left on their own accord. Members who were guilty of idleness, intoxication, or disobedience to the regulations of the community were admonished by Father Rapp and shunned by the other members. However, if a member were incorrigible, he was asked to leave the Society.⁴⁶ The

⁴⁵John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," pp. 346-347.

⁴⁶William Alfred Hinds, American Communities, p. 74.

young people when they reached the age of twenty-one were given the choice of becoming full members or leaving the Society.⁴⁷

In order to promote greater equality and harmony between the original members and those who joined the Society, particularly the one hundred and thirty immigrants in 1817, the Rappites decided by unanimous consent in 1818 to destroy the records containing the amount of money and property each member had contributed.⁴⁸ With the abolishment of these records and the addition of new members the Rappites decided to require all new members to sign the following addition to the Articles of Association on January 20, 1821.

Be it hereby known that to-day, '20th January, 1821', in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, the present agreement, treaty and alliance was made and concluded between us, the following persons to wit: N. N., etc., of the one part and George Rapp and his associates of the other part.

After the aforesaid persons became sufficiently acquainted with the principles, rules and regulations of the community of George Rapp and his associates, by virtue of their religious principles, they have, after long and mature reflection, out of their own free will, determined to join the community of said George Rapp and his associates, in Harmony, Posey County, State of Indiana; to that purpose the aforesaid persons bind themselves and promise solemnly by these presents, to comply with the ordinances, rules and regulations of the community, and render due obedience to the superintendents ordained by the community and to perform as much as possible all

⁴⁷William Alfred Hinds, American Communities, p. 80.

⁴⁸Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 76.

all occupations and labors to which they are ordered, and help to promote the benefit, happiness and prosperity of the community. And if the case should happen that the aforesaid persons, jointly or singly, after a short or long period of time, leave the community for any cause whatever, they hereby bind themselves jointly and each for himself separately, never and in no case to bring any account, nor make any claim, either against the association or any individual member thereof, for their labor and services rendered; also, never to make any demand, ask or claim any other payment, under any name and description whatsoever, but will do and have done all things out of Christian love, for the good and benefit of the community, or else take it as a gift, if George Rapp and his associates willingly give them something.

However, George Rapp and his associates, in return, adopt the aforesaid persons into the community, whereby they obtain prerogative to partake of all meetings for divine services by which they receive in church and school the necessary instructions, requisite and needful for their temporal benefit and happiness and eternal felicity. George Rapp and his associates bind themselves further to supply the aforesaid persons with all the wants and necessities of life, to wit: Meat, drink and clothing, etc., and indeed not only during their healthful days, but also if all or any of them get sick or otherwise infirm and unable to work, they shall, as long as they remain members of the community, receive and enjoy the same support as before during their better days, or as their circumstances require.

In confirmation of these presents, we, both parties, have hereunto set our hands and seals.⁴⁹
Done in Harmony, the day and year above stated.

As stated in the Articles of Association no member who left the Society could claim any monetary return for services he had contributed to the Harmony Society. In 1821, Eugene Miller, who left the Society, brought a court case against the Rappites to recover wages for labor and the court stated

⁴⁹John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," pp. 282-284.

that since he had signed "... the Articles of Association he had formally renounced all claim of wages."⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the Rappites usually gave a member who withdrew a small sum of money to help him get established outside. When members had given money or property and then decided to withdraw, they could reclaim their contributions.⁵¹ However, since the destruction of the records stating the contribution of each member when he joined the Society, it became almost impossible for the individual to have his property and/or money returned.⁵² The withdrawal of members from the Society between 1815 and 1825 was never of great concern since only thirteen people left the Society.⁵³

One of the often quoted reasons why members left the Society was due to celibacy. As stated in chapter two celibacy was adopted in 1807 during a religious revival in the Society. There has been a great deal of confusion and speculation as to the adoption and practice of celibacy by the Rappites. The various reasons given for the adoption of celibacy are: in the first years of the Society, the members faced deprivations and decided voluntarily to forgo

⁵⁰William Alfred Hinds, American Communities, p. 85.

⁵¹John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," p. 121.

⁵²In 1836 the Rappites decided to abrogate the sixth article of the Articles of Association. From that time on whenever any member left the Society, he could not regain any of the money or property he had contributed to the Society.

⁵³John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 282.

the bearing of children since it would add hardships to the community; the restrictions against having children allowed the women to do the same amount of work as the men and allowed the community to expand and prosper; Father Rapp instigated celibacy in order to prevent the colony from expanding and thereby threatening his authority. However, the most common explanation for the adoption of celibacy was due to religious motivation.

The religious revival in 1807, occurred when many of the members had fallen in their religious convictions and were becoming worldly in their daily life. The revival had the effect that the members became dedicated to the teachings of Christ. The decision to practice celibacy was urged by the younger members of the Society and not by Father Rapp. It was felt that celibacy would be more "... consistent with that purity of heart and isolation from the world which they desired to cultivate."⁵⁴ When the Society decided to adopt celibacy, Father Rapp cautioned the members that it was a serious decision to make and to think carefully on the matter. However, Father Rapp soon gave his support to this doctrine and encouraged this ascetic way of life.⁵⁵

In time Father Rapp justified celibacy according to the Scriptures of the Bible. The practice of celibacy according

⁵⁴Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 57.

⁵⁵Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 73.

to the Rappites corresponded with the ideals of the primitive Christians. The following passages from the Bible supported the religious justification for the establishment of celibacy among the members of the Harmony Society.⁵⁶

His disciples said unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry.⁵⁷

But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given.⁵⁸

For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men: and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.⁵⁹

For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven.⁶⁰

For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.⁶¹

I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I.⁶²

⁵⁶Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 57.

⁵⁷Matthew 19:10.

⁵⁸Matthew 19:11.

⁵⁹Matthew 19:12.

⁶⁰Matthew 22:30.

⁶¹I Corinthians 7:7.

⁶²I Corinthians 7:8.

Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgement, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful.⁶³

I suppose therefore that this is good for the present distress, I say, that it is good for a man so to be.⁶⁴

But this I say, brethren, the time is short: it remaineth, that both they that have wives be as though they had none.⁶⁵

But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord.⁶⁶

But he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife.⁶⁷

There is difference also between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit: but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.⁶⁸

But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage.⁶⁹

And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.⁷⁰

⁶³I Corinthians 7:25.

⁶⁴I Corinthians 7:26.

⁶⁵I Corinthians 7:29.

⁶⁶I Corinthians 7:32.

⁶⁷I Corinthians 7:33.

⁶⁸I Corinthians 7:34.

⁶⁹Luke 20:35.

⁷⁰Revelation 14:3.

These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were re-deemed from among men, being the first fruits unto God and to the Lamb.⁷¹

The other justification for celibacy was in the doctrine of the dual nature of man. According to the teachings of Father Rapp, Adam was a dual being containing within himself both sexes. To substantiate this doctrine, Father Rapp referred to Genesis 1:26 and 27.⁷²

And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.

In addition, the Rappites believed that Adam was a reincarnation of God not only in likeness but in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness. Adam having a theanthropic nature (having both divine and human qualities) and containing both sexes would have been able to propagate offspring without the assistance of a female.⁷³ However, Adam became discontented when he observed the lower animals were in pairs, male and female. Hence desiring companionship, Adam became restless which caused a physical strain that made him fall

⁷¹Revelation 14:4.

⁷²Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 99.

⁷³Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 98.

into a deep sleep. Adam had abused the freedom that God gave him by succumbing to an irregular desire of the feminine element of his kind. God observed the loneliness of Adam and in his sleep separated the female element from his body, thereby creating Eve. When Eve offered the forbidden fruit, Adam no longer resisted the temptation and submitted to his feminine desires. The fruit which Adam and Eve share was of a "poisonous quality which introduced the seeds of disease and death into the human frame, and induced the unholy sexual passion which is implied in the discovery of their nakedness and the awakening of the sense of shame."⁷⁴

To answer the commandment of God to "be fruitful and multiply," the Rappites believed that God would have provided the merging of the male and female elements within man's being so that a new individual would have been created without physical pain. The offspring would have been not only the son of man but the son of God as Jesus was the son of Mary. This mystical conception of Adam and the origin of sin contributed to the acceptance of celibacy by the Rappites. It was their belief that in order to have a theanthropic nature such as Adam possessed in the beginning, one must restrain from intercourse. The first son of Adam was of his own likeness and not of the likeness of God. Therefore, the

⁷⁴ Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 100.

Rappites believed that the practice of celibacy was in accordance with God's original design.⁷⁵

However, this theological explanation of the virtues of adhering to a celibate life was not made mandatory for all members of the Harmony Society. Celibacy became a voluntary custom and not a compulsory rule. The members of the Society realized that celibacy was not suited to everyone--only to those who had the desire and vocation for such a life. Father Rapp recognized this when he stated: "This narrow way is not for everyone, I have already united several couples and expect to unite several more."⁷⁶ The following comment by Richard Flower gave a good insight into the practice of celibacy by the Rappites.

They do not forbid marriage, as some have represented; but it is one of their tenets that the incumbrance created by families is an hindrance to the spirituality of christians, and it is this opinion which discourages marriage amongst them.⁷⁷

In addition, Dr. Muller told William Owen in 1825 that marriage was not prohibited in the Harmony Society.⁷⁸

The voluntary nature of practicing celibacy was apparent when families continued to live together. There were no rules

⁷⁵ Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 101.

⁷⁶ John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 27.

⁷⁷ Richard Flower, Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, p. 17.

⁷⁸ "Diary of William Owen," p. 132.

or precautions taken to check on celibacy.⁷⁹ When Adlard Welby visited Harmony in 1819, he observed that there were many children in the community.⁸⁰ Marriages continued to occur among the Rappites and children were born every year.⁸¹ The married couples who practiced celibacy continued to live together but restrained from a conjugal relationship. If celibacy had been a precept of the Harmony Society, there would have been no need for a school for the children. If there were requirements to adhere to celibacy, these would have been included in the Articles of Association. Although celibacy was voluntary among the members, Father Rapp always exalted it as a high ideal, pure, holy, and more acceptable to God. The effect of Father Rapp's reverence for celibacy did not completely eliminate marriage among the Rappites, but the discountenance for it nearly amounted to a prohibition on religious grounds.⁸²

The idea of celibacy as enunciated by Father Rapp was consistent with his position as the religious and secular head of the Society. Father Rapp as the leader of the community had often been described as an autocrat. William

⁷⁹Mark Holloway, Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America 1680-1880 (London: Turnstile Press, 1951), p. 91.

⁸⁰Adlard Welby, Visit to North America, p. 262.

⁸¹William English Papers, MSS, Indiana State Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

⁸²William Herbert, A Visit to the Colony of Harmony, p. 330.

Tell Harris who visited Harmony in 1818 made the following comments on Father Rapp's authority as the leader of the Harmony Society.

Here is a large body of people, active, industrious, possessed of much physical strength, yet unanimously resigned all their individual energies to the despotic control and government of one man, whose word and nod are as the mandate of the Russian autocrat; yet he has no life-guards, no armed force, no bastille, no executioner, to give efficacy to his command. Mr. Rapp is, with them, all things ecclesiastical, civil, political, commercial, supreme. The general appearance of health and content in the people, proves the wisdom with which he orders the diet, exercise, and association; while the astonishing abundance of produce, and of the various articles of manufacture, equally manifests his skill in arranging and guiding the physical powers of the community.⁸³

As far as the government of the Harmony Society was concerned Father Rapp decreed its rules and regulations and arbitrated any questions that arose. In his position as supreme authority he was assisted by Frederick Rapp, the church elders, and the various superintendents in the community but in essence his word was law.

⁸³William Tell Harris, Remarks made During a Tour Through the United States, p. 134. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, states on page 166 that Father Rapp was the pontifical authority of the Harmony Society. William Herbert, A Visit to the Colony of Harmony, on page 331 states: "Mr. Rapp is alike their spiritual teacher and temporal director, who is as much accustomed to superintend their operations in the fields and factories, as to lecture them on their duty.... He is their alpha and omega, without whom they do nothing, and perhaps would have been nothing." Charles B. Stuart, "Notes on a Journey to the Western States in Company with Captain R. N. Desha, 1819," MSS, Illinois State Historical Society Library, Springfield, Illinois, on page 27 describes Father Rapp as ruling his followers "with a rod of iron."

All this power, however, was administered, not selfishly or tyrannically, but in a truly patriarchal spirit, and with a single eye to the temporal and spiritual welfare of his people, who loved and revered him as a father, and never thought of questioning his right to all the authority which he claimed. It is not to be wondered at that he became impatient of contradiction or opposition, and had a reputation for harshness and severity among outsiders and excommunicated members. He did not hesitate to fulminate spiritual thunders against bold transgressors, whom he regarded as offending not only against the accepted rules of the Society, but also against the authority of God, which was claimed as sanctioning the principles on which the Society was founded.⁸⁴

The authority which Father Rapp held was not used as a political despot but rather as a patriarch who sought to guide his followers according to the teachings of the Bible.

However, Father Rapp was not pretentious and aloof with his people but mingled with them freely. He was opposed to idleness and "believed much in work; thought hard field-work a good cure for spiritual as well as bodily disease."⁸⁵ He was very receptive to his followers and talked freely and cheerfully with them. His character was of a fatherly nature in that he sympathized and counseled the members who had perplexing problems and trials. In the conversations with his followers he usually spoke on the subject of religion and the conduct of daily life. He taught that love of one's

⁸⁴ Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, pp. 40-41.

⁸⁵ Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 91.

fellowman should be supreme and the rule of daily life. The duty of each member was to live a sincere and religious life and to put aside selfishness. Father Rapp stressed the importance of leading a life of simplicity, humility, self-sacrifice, self-examination, industry, love, and prayer.⁸⁶

Father Rapp's theology was of the old apostolic tradition. The Bible was his sole guide for spiritual matters. He did not adhere to spiritualism which was the belief that deceased persons could communicate with mortals, but he did believe that he could communicate directly with God and his followers regarded him as a prophet.⁸⁷ It was this aspect of this theology that prompted the Rappites to be millenarians. They believed that the second coming of Jesus Christ was near at hand. Father Rapp believed that he would live long enough to see the appearance of the Saviour in the heavens.⁸⁸ The millenarian views of the Rappites were according to the following Scriptures:

Which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 87.

⁸⁷ J. Schneck, The History of New Harmony, p. 6.

⁸⁸ Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 86. The Rappites expected the second coming of the Lord in the year of 1829. Karl J. Arndt, "The Harmonist and the Mormons," American German Review, X (June, 1944), p. 6.

⁸⁹ Acts 1:11.

And he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you.⁹⁰

Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.⁹¹

Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.⁹²

For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.⁹³

And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.⁹⁴

Father Rapp and his followers believed that the millennium was to be the start of Christ's one thousandth year rule on earth. This was contrary to most Christians who believed that the millennium preceeded the judgment day. The Rappites also believed that man would be restored to the dual nature of Adam as in the beginning during Christ's rule on the earth.⁹⁵ The millenarian views of the Harmony Society undoubtedly

⁹⁰Acts 3:20.

⁹¹Acts 3:21.

⁹²Romans 8:21.

⁹³Romans 8:22.

⁹⁴Romans 8:23. Other Biblical passages which the Rappites referred to concerning the second coming of the Lord were: II Peter 3:13; Ezekiel 37:21; Amos 9:11-15; Jeremiah 30:3; Zechariah 12:10; Romans 9:12-32; I Thessalonians 4:13-18; Revelation 20:4-5; and Isaiah 60:21. Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, pp. 107-108.

⁹⁵Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, p. 108.

contributed to their voluntary acceptance of celibacy for they felt that it was unrealistic to bear children in a world of sin and to be occupied with sensual pleasures when the second coming of the Lord was imminent.⁹⁶ When Father Rapp was dying, he still strongly believed that he would witness the appearance of Jesus Christ in the heavens that he said: "If I did not know that the dear Lord meant I should present you all to him, I should think my last moments come."⁹⁷ One of the reasons that the Rappites had accumulated wealth was to have sufficient money to go to Palestine if need be when Christ returned to earth.⁹⁸

Father Rapp also taught that whenever an individual sinned he disturbed the harmony of the universe and "in order to restore it again we must either do something, or if that was not possible we must suffer something."⁹⁹ However, the Rappites did not believe in everlasting punishment. Father Rapp felt that the spirit of harmony and good will among men had been distorted and diseased with the fall of Adam. But in the end God would eliminate sin and suffering in the world and restore it to its original nature of harmony,

⁹⁶"Diary of William Owen," p. 132.

⁹⁷Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 86. Father Rapp died at the age of eighty-nine on August 7, 1847 at Economy, Pennsylvania. Christiana F. Knoedler, The Harmony Society, p. 33.

⁹⁸Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 95.

⁹⁹"Diary of William Owen," p. 54.

beauty, and happiness.¹⁰⁰ The desire of the Rappites to live of harmony contributed to their belief in pacifism and refusal to serve in the state militia.¹⁰¹ The idea of the spirit of harmony among the Rappites was seen in the following account.

Unless the human mind be pure and enlightened the principles of a Fraternity can neither be understood nor appreciated... O, presumptuous man! You view the treasures of Heaven as a common stock; why not consider then the treasures of Earth in the same light? It is reasonable to suppose that he who cannot learn to share with his brother in this life will not easily do so in the World to Come and that no one need expect to find happiness in a heavenly society of men unless he first learn and practice the social virtues here among his fellow creatures.¹⁰²

The Rappites believed that when people were united for the welfare of all, the most noble state existed. They felt that disputes among men should not be settled by political methods but rather according to the teachings of Jesus Christ. Life at Harmony was conducted according to this principle as described by Adlard Welby: "Nothing short of a pure religious principle, certainly not worldly interest,

¹⁰⁰George B. Lockwood, The New Harmony Communities, p. 22.

¹⁰¹Richard Flower, Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, p. 17. In the state of Indiana each white male between the ages of eighteen and forty-five was required to serve in the state militia five days of each year. Charles Kettleborough, Constitution Making in Indiana, 1780-1815, Volume I (III Volumes, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), p. 109. However, the Rappites refused to serve and paid a fine of seventy-five cents for each required day thereby releasing them of the militia obligation. "Diary of William Owen," p. 93.

¹⁰²Thoughts on the Destiny of Man, particularly with Reference to the Present Times (The Harmony Society in Indiana, 1824), p. 84.

could keep such a community united in harmony; that here is an example of its doing so is at first view highly gratifying; it gives promise that the time may arrive when mankind may generally adopt it."¹⁰³ The Rappites did not claim to be a distinct religious sect and had no official written creed. Furthermore they made no attempt to convert outsiders to their beliefs. Many inquiries were made by interested outsiders as to the operation and principles of the Harmony Society. The following letters written by Frederick Rapp to Samuel Worcester in 1822 and Samuel Patterson in 1823 gave a clear and accurate picture of the Harmony Society.

We can not refer you to any book nor send you a pamphlet informing you of our principles and management.... There is nothing written or printed... except a sort of agreement. We ... see how everything is shaken in its base by the present period; how all kingdoms and states tremble and totter; also all religious societies, sects and parties have no solid hold upon their old systems and forms... how moral corruption has universally crept into all ranks, so that most of the people are lawless and unconscionable and regard neither civil order nor care to exercise true Christian religion.... Of all these evils and calamities Harmonie knows nothing; eighteen years all she laid the foundation to a new period -- indeed, after the original pattern of the primitive church described in Acts of Apostles, chapters 2 and 4... and now our Community stands proof firm and immovable upon this rock of truth... although unknown and disdained, we have lived in happiness and peace, hence our unity, temporal as well as spiritual, has increased from year to year.... Since the moral worth of right and wrong is already implanted into the heart of each man at his creation, there remains nothing

¹⁰³Adlard Welby, A Visit to North America, p. 261.

to do but to open the inward feeling and keep it open. Then it follows of course, that those susceptible of Light exert themselves to lead a virtuous and godly course of life, and when they inadvertently act against the truth and commit sins or errors they are ashamed of it, come and reveal it themselves to the superintendent.... No hypocrite can exist here, therefore they withdraw from the Community, sooner or later and flee to the world at large... and in this manner our Community remains pure without using constraint or rigor.... We also believe for certain that the nigh approaching Kingdom of Jesus Christ will be governed and conducted in the same manner as well here upon earth as in the Realm of Spirits.... For in the Kingdom of God no person possesses aught of anything of his own, but all things in common, and therefore we all have only one Social interest here, and Brotherly love gives sufficient impulse... freely without compulsion.¹⁰⁴

We live in peace and unity, which gradually binds us faster and faster into one body, whereof one member renders to another the necessary assistance, which facilitates the toils of life in great measure.

One cannot expect to commune with God who can not get on with his fellow men. Only in social life can mankind attain its destiny. Only in such a society is life truly free. There political and religious institutions are united. There is no fear of slavish laws and penalties; for the good man is also the truly free man, for he obeys the law of nature, as well as of truth, from a sense of love. When he recognizes what is true, good and useful, he does it without compulsion, entirely because it is good and true. This freedom prevails in the Harmony Society.

In the common household of this brotherhood, the greatest order, skill and diligence are observed in the most minute as well as the most extensive transactions. Here wealth is possessed in abundance, and all cares for sustenance are removed and forgotten. No sluggard can live in this amicable confederation, for permission is never given to anyone to eat his bread in sinful indolence. Male and female, old and young, are usefully employed according to their powers of mind and body; all contribute to the welfare of the whole, and from the common stock are supplied with all the necessaries of life.

¹⁰⁴John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, pp. 55-56.

The various branches of the economic commonwealth, regularly conducted and united, form one great machine, the principal wheel of which, when in motion, puts all the rest in motion for the interest of the whole. In their mutual enjoyments all the members are contented and happy; none is rich or poor; the causes of distress and clamor in the world are not experienced or even known here. How could it be otherwise? In eating, drinking and clothing, everything is plain and simple, like nature herself in her household, which we necessarily take as an example for imitation in our economical regulations for the restoration of a happier age. Here are possessed sufficient means for convenience, and a competent knowledge for their application to the rational and useful purposes of life. Where so many useful, active persons are harmoniously united, there must be, and evidently is, a true kingdom of God.

Those who choose such a life are such as are conscious of their imperfections and dissatisfied with themselves and have not perverted their moral faculties.

In this manner the whole human race will eventually be ameliorated.¹⁰⁵

In the Rappite religious meetings "the true kingdom of God" which Frederick Rapp described was emphasized. There were two church services on Sunday and a Sunday school for the children. During the week there was also a church service on Thursday evening.¹⁰⁶ On Sunday the religious services started with Sunday school at nine o'clock. The adult members observed the children as they exhibited their religious knowledge and this usually lasted for two hours.

¹⁰⁵ Francis Victor Calverton, Where Angels Dared to Tread (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941), pp. 79-80.

¹⁰⁶ George B. Lockwood, The New Harmony Communities, p. 34.

At noon the church service began and continued for approximately one and one-half hours.¹⁰⁷ After the congregation was seated with the men on the right hand side of the podium and the women on the left side, Father Rapp entered the church. On the podium was a table where Father Rapp sat while delivering his sermon.¹⁰⁸ Behind Father Rapp in an enclosed space was the choir and the elders of the church.¹⁰⁹ Since the Rappites were previously Lutherans in Germany, their church service was somewhat similar. However, Father Rapp was opposed to ostentation and eliminated needless forms and ceremonies in the church service.¹¹⁰ The church service started with a hymn followed by a prayer. After this Father Rapp delivered his sermon in a bold and figurative style using many gestures. After the sermon a few songs were sung. The church service ended with the congregation repeating a prayer after Father Rapp.¹¹¹ The other Sunday service started in the evening around six o'clock and lasted until eight o'clock. Thomas

¹⁰⁷ John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ Maximilian, Prince of Wied's, Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-1834 in Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, Early Western Travels: 1748-1846 (XXXII Vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), XXII, 142. Hereafter cited as Maximilian, Travels in North America.

¹⁰⁹ Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 87.

¹¹⁰ Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of United States, p. 92.

¹¹¹ Maximilian, Travels in North America, p. 142. If Father Rapp could not be in church on Sunday, Frederick Rapp or one of the elders gave the sermon.

Hulme who visited Harmony in 1818 described the Rappites as going to church on Sunday "nearly the whole time from getting up to going to bed."¹¹² The mid-week church service held at six o'clock on Thursday was of a different nature than the Sunday service. It was similar to a Quaker meeting where the various members gave short talks and many prayers were said.¹¹³ Usually strangers or outsiders were not allowed to attend the various church meetings.¹¹⁴

In addition, other religious meetings occurred during the week. The members were divided into five groups consisting of old men, old women, young men, young women and children of both sexes. During the week these groups met to discuss religious matters.¹¹⁵ Each person brought some material as it was best in religion and morals for man's temporal eternal welfare."¹¹⁶ Father Rapp visited these various meetings and encouraged his followers to live a Christian life. After the meetings the members returned to their homes before nine o'clock which was the curfew time.¹¹⁷

¹¹²Thomas Hulme, Journal of a Tour in the West in 1818, Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, Early Western Travels: 1748-1846 (XXXII Vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904), 54. Hereafter cited as Thomas Hulme, Journal of a Tour in the West.

¹¹³William Cobbett, A Years' Residence in the United States, p. 515.

¹¹⁴William Faux, Memorable Days in America, p. 249.

¹¹⁵John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 30.

¹¹⁶John A. Bole, "The Harmony Society," p. 348.

¹¹⁷Francis Victor Calverton, Where Angels Dared to tread, p. 82.

When the Rappites went to bed at night, the nightwatchmen made their rounds. There were two nightwatchmen and each adult male performed this duty fourteen nights each year. At ten and eleven o'clock the nightwatchmen called out: "Again a day is past, and step made nearer to our end; our time runs away, and the joys of Heaven are our rewards."¹¹⁸ At mid-night they called out: "List unto me all ye people, twelve strokes sound from out the steeple, twelve gates has the city of gold, blest is he who enters the fold."¹¹⁹ At three o'clock the last call was made which was: "Again a night is past, and the morning is come; our time runs away, and the joys of Heaven are our reward."¹²⁰ With the passing of the night, the Rappites arose again in the morning between five and six o'clock to start their daily tasks.

The Rappites were dedicated to living a life guided by the spirit of harmony and according to the principles of the primitive Christians. They had a unity of purpose to serve the welfare of their community. No attempt was made to change or alter the society of their neighbors. The only way in which the members of the Harmony Society sought to influence the outside world was by living a religious,

¹¹⁸ John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 6.

¹¹⁹ John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 30.

¹²⁰ John Melish, Travels Through the United States, p. 6.

unselfish, and industrious life in accordance with the principles they possessed. The daily life of the community was not subjected solely to laborious tasks and self-denial but to a life that recognized human virtues and capabilities. Ignorance and prejudices had no place in the Harmony Society but equality and forgiveness were paramount. The religious concepts were not of a superficial nature to provide personal gain for Father Rapp or for any member of the Harmony Society but were tenets of the entire group and ingrained in their daily life.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY FROM INDIANA

The people in the surrounding area who visited Harmony either out of curiosity or to obtain goods or services observed a society which was the complete antithesis of their own. The Rappite neighbors, who were of a frontier disposition stressing the value of individualism and competition, were skeptical of any system which dictated religious beliefs or daily activities. When they viewed the Rappite settlement which had acquired wealth through collective effort, they could not help but envy their accomplishments. Richard Flower remarked on the attitude of the Rappite neighbors: "He could not fail to contrast the comforts and conveniences surrounding the dwellings of the Harmonists with the dirt, desolation, and discomforts of his own log-hut. It opened to his mind a new train of thought... 'I studies and I studies on it.'"¹

The regimental life in the Harmony Society was contrary to personal freedom which the frontiersman enjoyed. The Rappites were, said one observer, "... pitied by their American neighbours, for the implicit obedience they pay,

¹George Flower, History of the English Settlement, p. 281.

and the absolute subjection they are under, to their leader."² Thomas Hulme described the views of the surrounding inhabitants toward the Rappites by stating that their "... labour is concomitant to slavery or ignorance. Instead of their improvements, and their success and prosperity altogether, producing admiration, if not envy, they had a social discipline, the thought of which reduces these feelings to ridicule and contempt."³

These opinions were based usually on little information or no understanding of the principles of the Harmony Society. The Rappites spoke only German thereby restricting communication with outsiders and made no attempt to explain or proselyte the fundamental principles of their Society. What little contact the Rappites had with their neighbors was through their business superintendents of the tavern, store, mills, and various business agents. However, the jealousy and dislike of their neighbors toward them was due primarily to their commercial activities.

The antipathy of their neighbors was aroused because the Rappites were more than willing to sell their own products but had no interest in buying the products of the area in return. Since the products of the Harmony Society

² William Tell Harris, Remarks made During A Tour Through the United States, p. 135.

³ Thomas Hulme, Journal of a Tour in the West, p. 60. Elias Pym Fordham, Personal Narrative of Travels, states on page 208 that the people in the nearby countryside hated the Rappites since they would not allow drunkenness in their tavern.

were varied and of good quality, the trade of other merchants was stifled, allowing the Rappites to take most of the business in the area.⁴ In addition, the Rappites would not extend credit, accepted only specie money or at times marketable goods such as furs, and this tended to cause ill feeling toward the Society since specie money was scarce and the people needed credit. Added to this, the money which the Rappites accumulated was seldom spent and thus decreased the amount of currency in circulation in the surrounding region.⁵

The agitation of the frontiersman against the Harmony Society possibly contributed to Father Rapp's decision to sell their settlement in Indiana in 1825 and return to Pennsylvania. However, it is impossible to cite one particular reason to explain why the Rappites decided to sell their community. There are, nevertheless, several possible factors which could have contributed to their decision to return to Pennsylvania: Father Rapp was concerned that his followers would become lax and object to the demands of communitarian living, since they had adequately established their community and were comfortably situated; Father Rapp was also fearful that his followers would usurp his authority unless kept busy and confronted with the tasks of constant

⁴John Woods, Two Years Residence in Illinois, p. 316.

⁵William Newnham Blaney, An Excursion Through the United States and Canada, p. 290.

work; they desired a more healthy climate free from malaria infestation; and they were interested in securing more lucrative markets for their products.

With the exception of the last motive none of these reasons seemed valid and significant enough to prompt the selling of Harmony and the moving to Pennsylvania. The neighbor's views could not have been all derogatory since the Harmony Society provided many products which would not have otherwise been available and because Frederick Rapp had aided both state and local governments. The claim that Father Rapp feared his followers would become lackadaisical is not justified since the Society as stated in the Articles of Association was concerned with providing the necessities of life for all members and promoting general welfare, and to do this everyone had to do his share. The idea that the members would usurp the authority of Father Rapp was inconsistent with their religious dedication toward the principles of the "primitive" Christians and the benevolence of Father Rapp. The reason regarding unhealthy conditions pertaining to malaria is doubtful since there had been no reoccurrence of the malaria epidemic since the first years of establishment.⁶

The explanation which apparently has the most weight was

⁶In 1822 there were only five deaths and in 1823 there were only two deaths in the Harmony Society. Donald McDonald, "The Diaries, 1824-1826," p. 260.

the distance and the availability of markets for the surplus products of the Rappites.⁷ In connection with this was the depreciation of state bank notes and the lack of specie money in circulation.⁸ Since the Rappites had developed their industries to the point where they produced a large quantity of goods to sell, it was important that they had a greater outlet for these goods. However, the surrounding area did not provide suitable markets. By moving to Pennsylvania the Rappites would be within a proximity of available markets due to a larger population and where specie money was in greater circulation. Since no clear cut explanation was ever offered by the Rappites for leaving Indiana, it is difficult to substantiate their motive or motives and leaves only the realm of speculation to explain their decision.⁹

Before the Rappites could depart from Indiana certain preparations had to be made such as selecting a location in Pennsylvania, making the necessary arrangements for the sale of Harmony, and securing means to transport the possessions

⁷ Edward E. Moore, A Century of Indiana (New York: American Book Company, 1910), p. 273.

⁸ The Harmony Society in Pennsylvania, p. 12.

⁹ When Father Rapp was asked why he left Indiana, "He replied in rather a way to avoid the question, that this was their third settlement, that they had completed a good town and cleared & well cultivated a large tract of land which they had found in a state of nature, they had less now to do at Harmony, wanted a new situation to work upon, and he added half smiling, That it had been foretold to him that he should remove to this last settlement & die here." Donald McDonald, "The Diaries, 1824-1826," p. 231.

and members to Pennsylvania. The third location of the Harmony Society was selected by Frederick Rapp, eighteen miles north of Pittsburgh on the Ohio River and consisted of three thousand acres. After the purchase was made in April of 1824, Father Rapp and one hundred members left Indiana to start the construction of the new home for the Harmony Society which was called Economy.¹⁰

Before the Rappites could move to Economy, arrangements had to be made to sell their holdings in Indiana. In order to facilitate the sale of Harmony, the members decided by unanimous consent to grant to Frederick Rapp the power of attorney for disposing of their property. The document giving Frederick Rapp the power of attorney was signed by five hundred and one adult members (245 men and 256 women) on March 2, 1825.¹¹ Having the authority to sell the Rappite settlement in Indiana, Frederick Rapp commissioned Richard Flower to act as his agent in disposing of the property of the Harmony Society.¹²

The reasons why Richard Flower was chosen as the agent to sell Harmony were: he had been one of the founders of

¹⁰ John Samuel Duss, The Harmonists, p. 57.

¹¹ Deed Record Book D, Recorder's Office, Posey County, Indiana, pp. 119-126. See Appendix number seven for a copy of the document granting Frederick Rapp power of attorney for the Harmony Society.

¹² George Flower, History of the English Settlement, p. 279.

Albion, Illinois, which was only twenty some miles from Harmony, and since he had had dealings with the Rappites, he had first hand knowledge of their settlement; in addition, he was in the process of making plans to return to England where he could possibly locate a buyer. Richard Flower's trip to England was the most important factor since Father Rapp had received a letter of inquiry in 1820 concerning the nature and operation of the Harmony Society from another communitarian leader, Robert Owen.¹³ When Richard Flower arrived in England, he had the following advertisement printed describing the property of the Harmony Society. This advertisement provided a good description of the Harmony Society in 1825.

TOWN OF HARMONY,

POSEY COUNTY, STATE OF INDIANA

NORTH AMERICA.

TO BE SOLD BY PRIVATE CONTRACT,

The Highly Esteemed and Much Celebrated town and

SETTLEMENT OF HARMONY,

The Universal Admiration of Travellers,

THE PROPERTY OF FREDERICK RAPP, ESQ.

Situated Thirty-eight Degrees North Latitude,

ON THE EAST BANK OF THE WABASH

¹³George Flower, History of the English Settlement,
p. 372.

Navigable About Two Hundred and Fifty
Miles North, Towards Lake Michigan
PECULIARLY ADVANTAGEOUS FOR TRADE TO VINCENNES
AND ADJACENT COUNTRY;
RAPIDLY INCREASING IN POPULATION:
ALSO, TO THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS SOUTHWARDS.

THE ESTATE CONSISTS OF
TWENTY THOUSAND ACRES
Of Rich Fertile Patented

FREEHOLD LAND,

Suitable for the Growth of Indian Corn, Cotton, and every description of Grain, THREE THOUSAND ACRES of which are under Fence, and in a High State of Cultivation; TWELVE ACRES are Vineyards, covering the hills, adding beauty to the surrounding Scenery, and producing a large quantity of Wine, and are a source of considerable profit to the Owner; THIRTY-FIVE ACRES of ORCHARD planted with Fourteen Hundred Apple and Pear Trees, with sundry Peach Orchards, in full bearing, producing many Thousand Bushels of the choicest Fruit; a due proportion set with Grasses, and Pasture Grounds conveniently interwoven with, and adjacent to the Farming Buildings.

THE HOME-STALL,

Consists of

THREE FRAME BARNS,

One Hundred by Fifty Feet each; a THRASHING MACHINE, capable of thrashing Five Hundred Bushels per Day; Stables, Cow Houses, HAY BARNS, and FARM YARDS, sufficient for the size of the Establishment.

THE TOWN,

Consists of

TWENTY-ONE SUBSTANTIAL BRICK-BUILT HOUSES,

Four of which are Sixty Feet by Eighty; Three Stories high, with attached and detached Offices, Stables, Gardens, well planted, with a variety of Fruit Trees, a handsome Orangery and Green-house.

A GARDEN OF FIVE ACRES,

Well planted with Medicinal Herbs, Flowering Shrubs, and Dwarf Fruit Trees, with a RURAL ROTUNDA in the centre, surrounded with a Labyrinth. One House sixty feet by sixty; One ditto thirty-six by fifty. FIFTEEN Two-story Brick Dwelling Houses of different sizes. TWENTY-FIVE good weather-boarded Houses, substantially built and well painted, with suitable Offices, Stables, Yards, and Gardens attached and detached.

EIGHTY-SIX Log and Dwelling Houses,
with garden to each.

A LARGE THREE STORY FRAME OR WEATHER-BOARDED
MERCHANT MILL,

With Three run of Stones on a Boyard, on the Backwater of the GREAT WABASH, convenient to Navigation.

ONE THREE-STORY GRIST MILL,

Worked by Steam Engine.

ONE STONE AND ONE BOARDED GRANERY,

Sixty Feet by Forty each,

Three Stories high.

ONE LARGE BRICK STORE AND WAREHOUSE,

With adjoining Rooms, where an extensive Business is already established: One Tavern, with convenient Rooms, extensive Cellars and Stabling for upwards of Twenty Horses, with Carriage Houses, and other Conveniences.

ONE LARGE TWO-STORY FRAME FACTORY,

With all necessary and convenient Buildings for manufacturing WOOL and COTTON into YARN and CLOTH. ONE OIL and HIMP MILL, and a SAW MILL, all by Water power.

A TAN YARD, (with FIFTY VATS, BARK MILL, and SHEDS,

For holding a large quantity of Bark

and Leather, with OFFICES for currying.

A BRICK FIELD:

With Sundry Sheds and Coverings for the making a large quantity of Bricks; a Coarse Pottery adjoining.

A BREWERY and MALT-HOUSE,

and TWO SMALL DISTILLERIES.

TWO CHURCHES,

One of which is FRAME BUILT, fifty-five feet by fifty, Steeple, and well painted; the other BRICK-BUILT, with substantial Stone Foundation, one hundred and twenty-five by one hundred and thirty feet.

The Town is abundantly supplied

with Spring Water of the finest quality.

THIS CONCERN is well worthy the attention of CAPITALISTS, who wish to invest a large Property; and is highly advantageous for carrying on the Manufactures of Broad Cloth, Cassinets, and other Goods, plain and coloured; or for an excellent MERCANTILE DEPOT for the supply of WESTERN AMERICA: also peculiarly adapted for large RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES who may be desirous to form a settlement.

THE TOWN is capable of accommodations

for upwards of ONE THOUSAND INHABITANTS.

THE WHOLE WILL BE SOLD IN ONE LOT,

And the Purchaser may be accommodated by half the money¹⁴ remaining on the Security of the Premises, at Interest.

After Richard Flower visited Robert Owen and described the property of the Harmony Society, Robert Owen decided to to the United States and discuss the possible purchase of

¹⁴"Particulars of the Settlement and Town of Harmony."

Harmony, Indiana with Frederick Rapp. Robert Owen arrived at Harmony, Indiana on December 16, 1825.¹⁵ After Robert Owen examined the Rappite settlement and talked with Frederick Rapp, they arranged a meeting to discuss terms for the purchase of Harmony at Richard Flower's home in Albion on December 28. However, no agreement was reached at that time. It was not until January 3, 1825 that the papers were signed by Robert Owen and Frederick Rapp for the sale of Harmony, Indiana.¹⁶

The agreement for the sale of the Rappite settlement on January 3, 1825, was a binding contract but all of the terms were not completely settled. The agreement of January 3 involved a payment of \$125,000 payable in installments. However, on April 21, 1825, the terms of payment were reduced to \$95,000 payable in cash for all real property.¹⁷

20,097.13 acres, with all buildings and improvements, expressly including the Town Clock and Bells, all the furniture of every description

¹⁵"Diary of William Owen," p. 71.

¹⁶Donald McDonald, "The Diaries, 1824-1826," p. 265. Richard Flower received five thousand dollars for his services in promoting the sale of Harmony to Robert Owen from the Harmony Society. John C. Leffel, History of Posey County, Indiana, p. 102.

¹⁷Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr., Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), footnote 74, p. 180. Most likely the Harmony Society suffered a loss in the sale of their settlement. In 1821, the estimated value of the Rappite community was two hundred and twenty thousand dollars. However, the Rappites were fortunate to sell such a large estate to one person and in a single cash payment. Western Sun and General Advertiser (Vincennes, Indiana), June 2, 1821, p. 4.

in the Tavern, the Copper Brew Kettle, nine Dye Kettles, some of which are Iron and Copper, thirty large & ten small Stoves & Pipes, the Cotton Gin, two woolen carding Engines, and One complete set of Blacksmith's tools.¹⁸

In addition, Robert Owen also purchased other chattles such as livestock, implements, and store goods for forty thousand dollars payable in two equal installments on the first of May in 1827 and 1828. The deed for the transfer of land to Robert Owen was recorded on December 10, 1825. After Owen had purchased the property of the Harmony Society, he wrote the following letter to his partner, William Allen, in New Lanark, Scotland:

I have bought the flocks & herds & implements of husbandry & stock of store goods & altogether as much in value including one years stock of provisions for a thousand people, as in England would have cost a princely fortune, for these articles I get 2 & 3 years credit if I do not find it more advantages (sic) to pay for them at the end of this year.¹⁹

Before and during the time that negotiations were being made, the Rappites were making preparations to move to Economy.

¹⁸ Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr., Backwoods Utopias, footnote 74, p. 180. The remaining acres of the Rappites were sold at a later date to various individuals after the Harmony Society had returned to Pennsylvania. William Maclure, one of the members of Owen's colony, purchased seven thousand and four hundred acres on March 1, 1830 for eleven thousand dollars. Elfrieda Lang, "The Inhabitants of New Harmony According to the Federal Census of 1850," p. 361.

¹⁹ Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr., Backwoods Utopias, footnote 74, p. 180.

In order to transport the members and some of their possessions to Economy, the Rappites built a steamboat. The boat was launched on November 27, 1824 and was christened the William Penn.²⁰ In December it was towed up to Pittsburgh to have its steam engines installed.²¹ Before the William Penn returned from Pittsburgh, some of the Rappites embarked on the steamboat Indiana on January 7, 1825.²² On March 4, 1825, the steamboat Phoenix left Harmony with about forty Rappites bound for Economy.²³ On March 17, 1825, the William Penn returned to Harmony. William Owen described it as a fine boat of about one hundred and fifty tons burden. The William Penn left the next day with around sixty Rappites.²⁴ The William Penn returned again and departed on March 28 with one hundred and thirty members.²⁵ By May 17, 1825, all of the members of the Harmony Society had arrived in Economy.²⁶

²⁰ John Samuel Duss, George Rapp and His Associates, p. 25.

²¹ "Diary of William Owen," p. 52.

²² Frederick T. Wessel, "Shawneetown and the Harmony Society," p. 12. John Caldwell, the Rappite business agent in Shawneetown, and Captain Beckwith of the Indiana had agreed to transport a group of the Rappites and a load of cargo from Shawneetown to Economy for one thousand dollars.

²³ "Diary of William Owen," p. 123.

²⁴ "Diary of William Owen," p. 127.

²⁵ "Diary of William Owen," p. 131.

²⁶ The Harmony Society in Pennsylvania, p. 15.

It is interesting to point out that one of the Rappites, J. Scheel, wrote in chalk underneath the wooden stairway in dormitory Number Two the following inscription when the Harmony Society decided to move to Economy: "In the 24th of May, 1824, we have departed, Lord, with thy great help and goodness in body and soul protect us."²⁷

During the time the Harmony Society was in Indiana from 1815 to 1825 they had accumulated a great deal of wealth. The economic success of the Rappites was remarkable. In 1825 the estimated per capita wealth of each member (man, woman and child) was two thousand dollars whereas in 1804 it did not exceed twenty-five dollars. When compared with the national average of per capita wealth in 1825, it was ten times higher and compared with the average in Indiana, it was nearly fourteen times higher. In addition, when compared with Massachusetts which had the highest average per capita wealth of any state, it was seventeen hundred dollars higher.²⁸ Before Robert Owen paid Frederick Rapp ninety-five thousand dollars in 1825, Father Rapp deposited

²⁷Nora C. Fretagoet, "Rappite Rooming House Number 2, Later Known as the Fretagoet Building, New Harmony, Indiana," Speech given by Nora Fretagoet to the Posey County Historical Society at Mount Vernon, Indiana, January 30, 1928. MSS, Mount Vernon Public Library, Mount Vernon, Indiana, p. 3.

²⁸Robert Owen, Threading My Way, p. 240.

one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in a Pittsburgh bank in 1824 when he led the first detachment to Economy.²⁹

Not only had the Harmony Society served as an example of what could be gained economically from a collective effort but also what could be provided for the individual member. The members had all the necessities of life, the services of a doctor, free education, cultural advantages with a library and musical groups, care for orphans and the aged, equal rights for all, self sufficiency, absence of religious discord, and unity of spiritual matters. The Rappites had a life far in advance of their time and far superior to the typical frontier conditions. It was no wonder that the frontiersman was astonished and amazed and found it hard to comprehend this unorthodox settlement and way of life.

As one views the accomplishments and operation of the Harmony Society, he can not help but wonder why this particular communitarian society was so successful. No single reason can be attributed to its success for many factors were interwoven and fused together to produce a harmonious and productive community. Success was acquired from an integration of leadership, the people themselves, common German heritage, and religious ties. Had any factor been eliminated perhaps the Rappites would not have been as successful.

²⁹Donald McDonald, "The Diaries, 1824-1826," p. 232.

Father Rapp's divinely inspired leadership was honest and benevolent. He was ably assisted by Frederick Rapp who had a good knowledge of business and initiated many of the industrial activities of the community which were profitable and allowed the Rappites to be self-sufficient. The members of the colony were obedient to and believed in the leadership of the Society. This in turn was due in part to their German background which was devoid of individual liberty common to the United States and in part to their faith in the goals of the Society. Since the Rappites spoke only German, contact by them with the outside world was limited thereby prohibiting undesirable outside influences. The members knew a variety of skills and were diligent workers, again the German influence of industry and hard work. The membership was homogeneous and the Rappites shared the same religious views. Their religion was a cohesive force which accounted for their belief in equality and the welfare of the Society as the primary objective. The non-materialistic attitude of the membership eliminated greed, individualism, and competition which could have promoted dissonance and conflict. The net result of these elements was one of the most prosperous and noteworthy communitarian colonies in the United States. When the Rappites left Indiana, they had left an indelible mark which was never completely erased.

APPENDIX ONE

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION

Whereas, by the favor of Divine Providence, an association or community has been formed by George Rapp and many others, upon the basis of Christian fellowship, the principles of which, being faithfully derived from the sacred Scriptures, include the government of the patriarchal age, united to the community of property, adopted in the days of the apostles, and wherein the simple object sought, is to approximate, so far as human imperfections may allow, to the fulfilment of the will of God, by the exercise of those affections, and the practice of those virtues which are essential to the happiness of man in time and throughout eternity;

And, whereas, it is necessary to the good order and well being of the said association, that the conditions of membership should be clearly understood, and that the rights, privileges and duties of every individual therein should be so defined as to prevent mistake or disappointment on the one hand, and contention or disagreement on the other;

Therefore, be it known to all whom it may concern, that we, the undersigned, citizens of the county of Beaver, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, do severally and distinctly, each for himself, covenant, grant and agree, to and with the said George Rapp and his associates, as follows, viz:

Article 1st. We, the undersigned, for ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby give, grant, and forever convey to the said George Rapp and his associates, and to their heirs and assigns, all our property, real, personal and mixed, whether it be lands and tenements, goods and chattels, money or debts due to us, jointly or severally in possession, in remainder, or in reversion or expectancy, whatsoever and wheresoever, without evasion qualification or reserve, as a free gift or donation, for the benefit and use of the said association, or community, and we do hereby bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, to do all such other acts as may be necessary to vest a perfect title to the same in the said association, and to place the said property at the full disposal of the superintendent of the said community without delay.

Article 2d. We do further covenant and agree to and with the said George Rapp and his associates, that we will

severally submit faithfully to the laws and regulations of said community, and will at all times manifest a ready and cheerful obedience toward those who are or may be appointed as superintendents thereof, holding ourselves bound to promote the interest and welfare of the said community, not only by the labor of our own hands, but also by that of our children, our families, and all together who now are, or hereafter may be, under our control.

Article 3d. If contrary to our expectation it should so happen that we could not render the faithful obedience aforesaid, and should be induced from that, or any other cause, to withdraw from the said association, then and in such case we do expressly covenant and agree to and with the said George Rapp and his associates, that we never will claim or demand, either for ourselves, our children, or for any one belonging to us, directly or indirectly, any compensation, wages or reward whatever for our or their labor or services rendered to the said community, or to any member thereof, but whatever we or our families jointly or severally shall or may do, all shall be held and considered as a voluntary service for our brethren.

Article 4th. In consideration of the premises, the said George Rapp and his associates do, by these presents, adopt the undersigned jointly and severally, as members of the said community, whereby each of them obtains the privilege of being present at every religious meeting, and of receiving not only for themselves but also for their children and families, all such instructions in church and school, as may be reasonably required, both for their temporal good, and for their eternal felicity.

Article 5th. The said George Rapp and his associates further agree to supply the undersigned severally with all the necessaries of life, as clothing, meat, drink, lodging, &c., for themselves and their families. And this provision is not limited to their days of health and strength; but when any of them shall become sick, infirm, or otherwise unfit for labor, the same support and maintenance shall be allowed as before, together with such medicine, care, attendance, and consolation, as their situation may reasonably demand. And if at any time after they have become members of the association, the father or mother of a family should die or be otherwise separated from the community, and should leave their family behind, such family shall not be left orphans or destitute, but shall partake of the same rights and maintenance as before, so long as they remain the association, as well in sickness as in health, and to such extent as their circumstances may require.

Article 6th. And if it should so happen as above mentioned, that any of the undersigned should violate his or their agreement, and would or could not submit to the laws

and regulations of the church or the community, and for that or any other chance should withdraw from the association, then the said George Rapp and his associates agree to refund to him or them, the value of all such property as he or they may have brought into the community, in compliance with the first article of this agreement, the said value to be refunded without interest, in one, two, or three annual installments, as the said George Rapp and his associates shall determine. And if the person or persons so withdrawing themselves were poor, and brought nothing into the community, notwithstanding they depart openly and regularly, they shall receive a donation in money, according to the length of their stay, and to their conduct, and to such amount as their necessities may require, in the judgment of the superintendents of the association.¹

¹Aaron Williams, The Harmony Society, pp. 129-13.

APPENDIX TWO

MEMORIAL TO THE PRESIDENT BY THE SOCIETY OF HARMONY

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQUIRE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The Memorial of George Rapp & Society of Harmony in
Butler County Respectfully sheweth:

First the Reason of their Emigration to America, Second,
their concerns in that place where they live presently, and
Third, their purpose of purchassing a quantity of Land of
the United States.

Your Memorialists are natives of the Electorate of
Wurtemberg in Germany, and have been there incorporated to
the Lutheran Religion after the Law of the Country yonder;
having become acquainted through the Grace of God & En-
lightening of the holy Spirit with the decline of the
Christianism since Eighteen Years, so they was going the Way
of Piety, after the Sense of Jesus, and formed a proper Com-
munity, the Number of which now amount to about Two thousand
men; having been persecuted & punished in many manner for
sake of the Truth which they perdue and confessed, they
was necessitated to look for a place, where is liberty of
Conscience, & where they may exercise unprevented the Religion
of the Spirit of Jesus. Your Memorialists understanding by
the History of the United States, America would be such a
place, the whole Society was unanimously resolved to send
their Leader George Rapp accompanied with some brethern before
them, to inquire about the Country; after whose Notice are
already in Phil & Baltimore arrived about Fourteen hundred
men, which body of People consists of Tradesmen, Farmers and
chiefly cultevators of the Vine, which last occupation they
contemplate as their primary Object, and wilst they know to
plant and prepair Hemp & Flax, having good Weavers among
them; so they are intended to erect too a Linen Manufactory.
Whereas the Culture of Vine requires a peculiar climate &
Soil, Your Memorialist George Rapp has Eighteen month ago
been travelling in the Western part of this Country, on the
North side of the River Ohio, in quest of a suitable situation
for this body of People & their purposes; where he had found
a piece of Land, thirty Miles north of the Ohio, & about
Eighty miles west of Pittsburgh, which Land he understood is
the property of the United States, and which he had flattern
Reasons to believe will answer to the objects in view of his

fellow Country men, however when he was travelling back to Philadelphia to expect the ships with his Friends, another bought the best Section out of said Land which he had choosen--and if they were gone further back into the Woods, they would have put themselves in a Distance of 60-80 miles from all settlements about, which they would not venture out of Warning and Counsel of many experienced men; thereof they bought four thousand five hundred acres of Land in Butler County in a Distance of 26. Miles of Pittsburgh, for two Dollars a half pr. Acre.

The Society engreases dayly, and after the Letters Your Memorialists have got lately from Germany, they expect as much men more as are here already. The Land where they live presently is too small, too brocken & to cold for to raise Vine. Your Memorialists can not whether hit to their aim in cultivating Vineyards nor extend themselves; On Account of this Your Memorialists Respectfully solicits from the Government to grant them a Quantity of about Thirty thousand Acres of Land (more or less, as the Government will deem it) in the western Country, where Your Memorialists will choose a suitable piece of Land for their purposes, if the Government will grant.

Your Memorialists beg to represent, that when they was selling their Houses and Properties in Germany, they got scarce half the value of it; that they had large expences of Travel by Land & Sea, having a good deal unwealthy People among them for which they paid Fright, that they bought their Lands above mentioned by Cash, that they spended much Money by regulating of their Households after the greatest Exigence, that they bought Cattles for two thousand Dollars, & that they had a whole Year to buy Victuals for about nine hundred men, in that manner their Estate has been diminished they can not pay directly the Land for which they supplicate, they therefore Respectfully Solicit from the Government To allow them a Terms of four, eight and twelf Years. After three or four Years Your Memorialists will be able to pay thereon about, twelf or fifteen thousand Dollars. The whole Society does bind themselves as long as there shall be any property among them. Your Memorialists hope that the Government will deem it good policey, and be desposed to encourage an Emigration so valuable, as they flatters themselves, this will prove to this country.

Finally, Your Memorialist deem it incumbent on him further to represent, that he left a good Deal Members of his Society in Germany, desiring support of the Society, to be brought too to America, but finding it impossible to undertake too unwealthy a Charge, most of them being indigent Circumstances, he found it necessary to decline such Overture, but he deem it his duty to represent the Case to the Government, and if it should sie Cause to engage the needed but honest and industrious People on their arival in this Country, That Your

Memorialist with all those associated with him are willing to be bound to the United States for any advance it may judge right to make them.

All of which is Respectfully Submitt'd.

Georg Rapp	Christoph Viehmaier
Fredrik Rapp	Daniel Dieterle
Christ. Müller	Johannis Herrman
Mich: Rukensbrod.	Georg Schillinger
Pet. Höfselen	Salomo Wolf
Jacob Kurtz	Jeremias Keppeler.
Ge: Bendel	Friederich Wilhelm
Georg Munz	Ludwig Fr: Hagmaier.
J. Rapp	Jacob Scholle
Georg Flekhammer	Gottlieb Scholle
George Bentel.	Georg Holderrieth
Joh: Küser	*Joh. Holderrieth.
Friederick Hurtz	Joh: Jacob Scholle.
Samuel Gutjahr	Friederich Berne
Matteus Weidenbach	Dieterih Fegenbusch
Christoph Lang	Georg Velte
Jacob Launer	Johann Georg Velte
Jacob Friederich Braun	Christian Strohecker
Joh: Georg Guier	Johannes Bauer & cet.
Jac. Wohlgenuth	Matth. Klein.
*Johan Ott	Hs. Jg. Kughle ¹
Georg Schmid	Joh: Langenbacher,
J G: Wuld	David Schäfer,
*Joseph Katznan	Ja Benzenhöfer
Thomas Wührle	J Stepper
Adam Viehmaier	Fried Aigner web: ²
Philipp Beker	Math: Reiff
Tobais Haufler	Ludwig Epple
Michael Hauflir	Jacob Ehrmann
Jacob Schmid.	*Sebastian Vaihiner
Johannes Bammesberger	Ju(n)g Matheus Reiff ³
Joh Gorg Frdh	Bernhard Dürwüchter
Christian Barchel.	Ludwig Werner
David Lentz.	ihan Viehmaier
Joh: Michael Schanbacher	Johannes Muschler
Michael Friz.	Wilh. Schreiber.
Diet: Knodel.	Jak. Schreiber.
Joh: Georg Böhrringer,	F. Wilhelm Schmid.
Joh: Eberhardt Zundel,	G. Hurliebanns.
Georg Vester	Alt Jacob Ehrman.
Johannes Seiber	Carl Frd: Müller.

* Spelling uncertain.

¹Hans Jörg, familiar form of Johannes Georg.

²Weber, or weaver.

³Jung, or junior.

AL Christian Barchel.⁴
Jacob Scheel.
Johannes Späth
Christ. Dien
Josua Vaihinger
Michael Beuthel
Jacob Geiger.
Joseph Geiger.
Paul Franch.
Joh. Hörnle
Christoph Bauer
Jacob Hekenleible
Fried. Kläss.
friedrich Läupple.
David Läupple
Israel Stark
Jacob Langenbacher
Jak. Klein.
Matth. Himing
Kasp. Götz.
Joh. Kappel.
Joh. Stahl.
Francois Blanc.
Fried: Aigner Mrs:
Christian Starb
H. Klingenstein
Gottl. Weidenbach
Fried. Eckensperger
Dav. Müller.
Gottlieb Knodel.
Heinrich Schrai.
Gottlob, Ruff
Joan Canell
George Förstner
Christoph Leucht
J. Waldmann.

Jacob Beker,
Heinrich Haug
Jacob Stilz
Friederich Velte
Jacob Schäfer
Joh. Knotzelmann
John Michael Riesch
Wilhelm Hüniger
Matthias Rein
David Rukensbrod,
Jacob Krüßl
J. Adam Leibbrandt
Jac. Zimmermann
Mihael Dien
Hs Jorg Keppeler
Gottlieb Scherle
Jh: Jacob Mückenfuss
Georg Wagner.
Georg Schüle
Fried. Renckenberger
Pet. Gutbrod:
John Meir.
Christoph Schneider
John Blume
Georg leible
Jacob Läupple.
Johannes Bäuerle.
Joh. Georg Böhrringer
Samuel Schumacher.
Georg Windel
Mich. Bentel
Johan. Ruff.
Heinrich Hartmann.⁵
Brudr. Hock & cet.⁵

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQUIRE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Your Supplicants, which are lately joined to the Society
of Harmony in Butler County have not been present when the
Memorial of George Rapp and his Associates was made & de-
livered; Whereas they Solicit from the Government & agree with
all the Memorial of George Rapp and his Associates contains.

David Gloss
Jos. Hörnle
Johannes Böhrringer

Johanes Widmann
Michel Zundel
Jak. Eckensperger.

⁴Alt, or senior.

⁵Brother Hock and family.

Joh Jakob: Laipple
Matthäus Seidel,
Johan. Stephan Renz
Christoph Mohl
Jacob Friederich Schiel
Johannes Meier
Christoph Mohl jun.
Joh Georg Keppler
Christoph friedrich Weeber
fried Henning
Konrad Benzinger
Tobais Silber
Allbracht, Rust,
Johann Georg Kandel,
Jacob Kandel.⁶
Johann David König
Johann Gottlieb Henning.
Johann Adam Viehmäier.
Joseh Bonet
Conrad Hühnle
Christian Vogt.
Matth. Trautwein.
Eberhart Ebershwein.

Jacob Renz
Jacob Geisel Schwille
Balthas Bertsch
Johan Georg Heid
Johann Casper Götz
Johannes Kappel
Mathäus Hining
Georg Fried: Schmid
Johan Jakob Thorwart
Mathäus Kant
Johanes Hunn
Georg Blessing
Jacob Bader.
Jacob Dengler.
Johannes Speut
Michel Bengler
Johannes Schnabel
Jacob Spengler
Jg: Georg Schmid.⁷

⁶Or Knodel.

⁷Clarence Edwin Carter, editor, The Territorial Papers of the United States, VII, pp. 330-334.

APPENDIX THREE

CHART OF THE LAND PURCHASES OF THE RAPPHITES IN POSEY COUNTY, INDIANA

GRANTOR	GRANTEE	DATE OF DEED	DESCRIPTION	SECTION	TOWNSHIP	RANGE	ACRES	DATE REC'D
Thomas Rogers	G. Rapp	5-9-1814	NW	1	5	14	160	3-21-1815
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	12-1-1814	NE	31	4	13	160	2-1-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	4-1-1815	SE	29	4	13	160	11-18-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	4-6-1815	Frac.	25	4	14	241.69	2-2-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-24-1815	SW	20	4	13	160	2-2-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-24-1815	SE	31	4	13	160	2-2-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	S $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	14	320	2-2-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	Frac.	34-35	4	14	253.88	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	Frac.	36	4	14	568.32	2-2-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	Frac.	11	5	14	607.93	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	S $\frac{1}{2}$	6	5	13	320	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	NE	6	5	13	160	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815		2	5	14	640	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	Frac.	19	4	13	778.05	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	SW	35	4	13	160	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	NE	34	4	13	160	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	NW	31	4	13	288.75	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	Frac.	30	4	13	895.83	2-21-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	8-16-1815	SE	20	4	13	160	2-24-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	12-23-1815	N $\frac{1}{2}$	29	4	13	320	2-3-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	7-30-1816	NE	18	5	13	160	11-18-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	2-6-1817	Frac.	22	5	14	50	11-18-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	2-6-1817	Frac.	27	5	14	416.71	11-18-1819

GRANTOR	GRANTEE	DATE OF DEED	DESCRIPTION	SECTION	TOWNSHIP	RANGE	ACRES	DATE REC'D
Isham Fuller	G. Rapp	10-31-1817	SW	17	5	13	160	12-13-1817
Thomas Toggle	G. Rapp	10-31-1817	NW	18	5	13	160	12-13-1817
Thomas Toggle	G. Rapp	10-31-1817	SW	18	5	13	160	12-13-1817
President of U.S.	F. Rapp	4-10-1817	S $\frac{1}{2}$	33	5	13	320	2-19-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	6-18-1818	SW	29	4	13	160	2-26-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	SW	24	5	14	160	11-24-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818		8	5	13	640	2-19-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	N $\frac{1}{2}$	13	5	14	320	2-19-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	SW	13	5	13	160	2-19-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	Frac.	8	5	14	199.30	2-19-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818		9	5	13	640	2-19-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	Frac.	9	5	14	371.73	2-24-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	Frac.	14	5	14	521.28	2-24-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	Frac.	28	4	13	320	2-24-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	NE	32	4	13	160	2-24-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818		4	5	13	640	2-25-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818		12	5	14	640	2-25-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818		7	5	13	640	2-25-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818		5	5	13	640	2-25-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	NE	20	4	13	160	2-26-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	Frac.	17	5	14	470.93	2-26-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818		33	4	13	640	2-26-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	Frac.	10	5	14	526.78	2-26-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	Frac.	15	5	14	40.19	2-26-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	S $\frac{1}{2}$	32	4	13	320	2-24-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	9-15-1818	Frac.	3	5	14	460	11-22-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	11-3-1818	SE	18	5	13	160	11-22-1819

GRANTOR	GRANTEE	DATE OF DEED	DESCRIPTION	SECTION	TOWNSHIP	RANGE	ACRES	DATE REC'D
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	12-23-1818	SW	21	44	13	160	11-24-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	12-23-1818	W $\frac{1}{2}$	18	4	13	320	2-1-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	4-12-1819	Frac.	23	5	14	570.94	11-19-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	4-12-1819	NW	24	5	14	160	11-22-1819
John Gale	F. Rapp	4-29-1819	Pt. SE	1	4	13	8 A	8-3-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	4-30-1819	Frac.	10, 11, 14, 15	4	14	511.93	11-22-1819
Samuel Jones	G. Rapp	5-5-1819	SW	3	5	13	160	7-11-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-29-1819	N $\frac{1}{2}$	19	5	13	320	11-18-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-29-1819	S $\frac{1}{2}$	11	5	13	320	11-18-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-29-1819	NE	20	5	13	160	11-19-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-29-1819	N $\frac{1}{2}$	17	5	13	320	11-22-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-29-1819	N $\frac{1}{2}$	14	5	13	320	11-23-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-29-1819	SE	5	4	13	160	11-26-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-29-1819	SE	17	5	13	160	11-26-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-29-1819	S $\frac{1}{2}$	20	5	13	320	11-26-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	5-29-1819	N $\frac{1}{2}$	4	4	13	320	11-26-1819
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	7-21-1819	N $\frac{1}{2}$	2	5	13	320	1-29-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	7-21-1819	E $\frac{1}{2}$	27	4	13	320	7-21-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	7-21-1819	SW	24	4	13	160	7-24-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	7-21-1819	SW	30	3	12	160	7-26-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	7-25-1819		26	4	13	640	7-21-1820
President of U.S.	F. Rapp	11-2-1819	E $\frac{1}{2}$	22	5	13	320	1-26-1820
President of U.S.	F. Rapp	11-2-1819	NW	27	5	13	160	1-26-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	11-2-1819	NE	24	5	14	160	6-20-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	11-2-1819	NW	26	5	14	160	7-23-1820
President of U.S.	F. Rapp	11-2-1819	SE	21	5	13	160	7-23-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	11-2-1819	NW	8	1	7	160	7-24-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	11-2-1819	SE	6	6	13	160	7-24-1820
President of U.S.	F. Rapp	11-2-1819	W $\frac{1}{2}$	23	5	13	320	7-24-1820

GRANTOR	GRANTLE	DATE OF DEED	DISCRIPTION	SECTION	TOWNSHIP	RANGE	ACRES	DATE REC'D
President of U.S.	F. Rapp	11-2-1819	SW	22	5	13	160	7-25-1820
President of U.S.	F. Rapp	11-2-1819	SE	22	5	13	160	7-25-1820
President of U.S.	F. Rapp	11-2-1819	NW	33	5	13	160	7-25-1820
President of U.S.	G. Rapp	7-2-1819	S $\frac{1}{2}$	14	5	13	320	7-26-1820
John D. Hay	F. Rapp	5-10-1821	$\frac{1}{2}$ Pt. Frac.	7 & 8	6	14	651.94	5-28-1822
Puley Hughes	F. Rapp	2-12-1824	NW	20	5	13	160	11-15-1826 ¹

¹General Index of Deeds in Posey County, Indiana; Grantee to Grantor, Recorder's Office, Posey County, Indiana, pp. 1-7.

APPENDIX FOUR

MEMORANDUM OF MISCELLANEOUS THINGS WHICH WERE SENT ON OCT. 31, 1814 TO NEW HARMONY

106	barrels of flour
95	" of potatoes
17	" of sauerkraut
6	" of apples
1	Barrel of apples for Geo. Rapp
1	" of oil $34\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
2	barrels of eggs packed in flour
$\frac{1}{2}$	barrel of peas for Geo. Rapp
1	" of beef-suet
1	" of vinegar
1	" of peaches $33\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
4	barrels of old hay-wine $132\frac{1}{2}$
1	barrel of old brandy $34\frac{1}{2}$
3	barrels of common brandy 101
1	barrel of currant wine $33\frac{1}{2}$
1	barrel of beans
4	barrels of dried peaches
$\frac{1}{2}$	barrel of rye and apple seeds
2	boxes of window frames
1	small barrel of flower bulbs
2	potter's turning benches
1	chest of cloth
1	barrel of tar
1	saw for sawmill
1	crank for sawmill
1	gear tenon for sawmill
2	small tubs of butter
1	small box for Geo. Rapp
1	barrel of peas

The following articles are in Box No. 1

2	dozen German calendars
2	" English calendars
$34\frac{1}{2}$	yards of half-linen
4	hanks of thread
1	dozen leather aprons
22	leather trousers
2	dozen calfhides
2	" pig hides
$\frac{1}{2}$	" dog hides
8	yards flannel for lining
6	small sacks with seeds

- 1 box containing \$2050
- 1 pair of boots for father
- 1 bag with dried fruit for father
- 1 bundle of oakum for William
- 1 piece of ? for Ziegler
- 1 piece of cloth for "
- 1 piece of cloth for Rühle

Bill of Goods

	2	pieces of plain drab $24\frac{1}{2}$ & $24\frac{1}{4}$	48 $3\frac{1}{4}$ yds.	125
	1	piece of brown broadcloth	19 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	325
	1	piece of "	19 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	500
	1	piece of black broadcloth	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	800
Box	1	piece of blue "	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	800
	$\frac{1}{2}$	piece black "	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	1100
	2	pieces of red flannel	59 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	622
	2	pieces of cassinette	55 "	175
Box	1	dozen German almanacs	per dozen	100
No. 1	1	dozen magazine	100 1 dozen common	50
	1	barrel of coffee	160 lbs. @ $36\frac{1}{2}$ cents a lb.	
	1	barrel of pepper	119 " 53 cents	
	1	" of allspice	68 " 57	
	$\frac{1}{2}$	" of copperas	151 " 20 cents	
	4	cwt 8 (quarters) bundle of nail rods	12.50 per cwt.	
	2	bundles of spike rods	12.50 " "	
	1	keg of ginger	41 lbs. 47 cents	

November 1: Herewith I am sending the following additional articles to fill up the ships.

They weigh in all 21 cwt, 2 (quarters), 14 lbs.

	@\$120 per ton		\$129.75
	Extra on 162 pieces		16.20
4	Large tea kettles	2.25 9.00	
2	medium " "	2.00 6.00	
2	small " "	1.75 7.00	22.00
1	roll of cordage 70 lbs. @ 20 cents		14.00
			<u>\$181.95</u>
1	roll 8 cwt, 2 (quarters), 5 lbs. of iron		82.95
	Extra on 12 wings		1.00

- 4 7 gallons pots
- 5 5 " "
- 10 4 " "
- 12 3 " "
- 20 2 " "
- 20 medium ovens (probably Dutch oven) with 20 lids
- 20 small ovens with 20 lids
- 5 large spiders with 5 lids
- 6 medium spiders with 6 lids

1	pair large	}	andirons ¹
1	pair medium		
1	pair small		

¹John C. Andressohn, "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," pp. 401-405.

APPENDIX FIVE

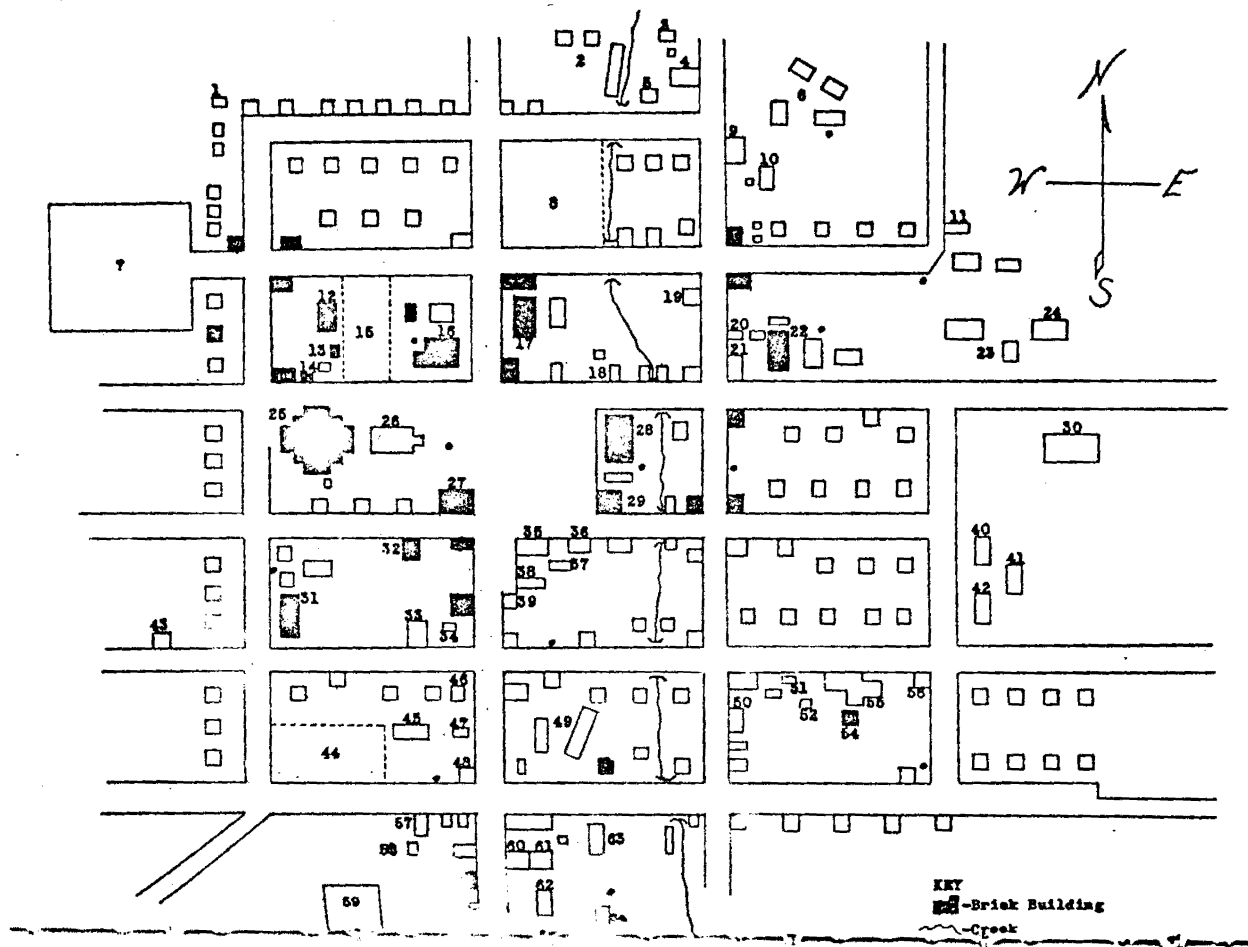


FIGURE 2. MAP OF HARMONY, INDIANA*

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Pottery Ovens | 23. Barns | 45. Stable |
| 2. Corn Yard | 24. Hay Shed | 46. Hatmaker's Shop |
| 3. Malt House | 25. Church | 47. Hatmaker's Shop |
| 4. Brewery | 26. Old Church | 48. Wash House |
| 5. Wash House | 27. Hotel and Tavern | 49. Corn Yard |
| 6. Pig Sties | 28. Bruderhaus No. 3 | 50. Granary |
| 7. Grave Yard | 29. Shoemaker's Shop | 51. Weaver's Shop |
| 8. Orchard | 30. Cotton Gin | 52. Steam House |
| 9. Distillery | 31. Bruderhaus No. 1 | 53. Lime Storage |
| 10. Corn Cribs | 32. School | 54. Dyer's Shop |
| 11. Stables | 33. Blacksmith's Shop | 55. Grist Mill |
| 12. Granary and Fort | 34. Wagon Shop | 56. Wash House |
| 13. Greenhouse | 35. Store | 57. Soapmaker's Shop |
| 14. Wine and Cider Press | 36. Tailor's Shop | 58. Tannery |
| 15. Garden | 37. Slaughter House | 59. Nursery (horticulture) |
| 16. George Rapp's Residence | 38. Apothecary | 60. Stable |
| 17. Bruderhaus No. 2 (Dormitory) | 39. Hospital | 61. Barn |
| 18. Saddler's Shop | 40. Machinery Barn | 62. Corn Yard |
| 19. Carpenter's Shop | 41. Food House | 63. Sheep Stable |
| 20. Cooper's Shop | 42. Granary | 64. Sheep Stable |
| 21. Carpenter's Shop | 43. Ropemaker's Shop | 65. Brick Yard |
| 22. Bruderhaus No. 4 | 44. Garden | |

¹ John William Larnier, Jr., "Nails and Sundrie Medicines," pp. 128-129.

APPENDIX SIX

AGREEMENT BETWEEN FREDERICK RAPP AND JOHN CALDWELL FOR CONDUCTING THE HARMONIE STORE IN SHAWNEETOWN

Articles of agreement made and concluded upon, this first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty four. Between Frederick Rapp of Harmonie in the State of Indiana of the one part, and John Caldwell of Shawneetown in the State of Illinois of the other part, Witnessth: That the said Frederick Rapp hath employed the said John Caldwell as a clerk or Store Keeper who is to take charge, of said Rapp's mercantile establishment called the "Harmonie Store," in Shawneetown aforesaid (as soon as the merchandise in said store are invoiced for that purpose) to be subject in all cases to the order & control of said Rapp, who impowers & authorizes the said Caldwell, to sell & dispose of any and all articles of merchandise, which said Rapp may have or hereafter furnish said Establishment, other for cash or such country Produce, as the said Rapp may from time to time direct. The said Caldwell also Agrees to attend to the Warehouse, which is connected with said Establishment, and to receive in Store, from time to time, all such Boxes, Bales &c. of goods & articles which may be consigned to the agency thereof, and hold or forward the Same as may be directed, of which he is to Rapp Keep a regular Storage Book with requisite accounts of payments thereon, or charges thereof, the Benefit of which is also to be applied solely to the use of said F. Rapp. The said Caldwell is to contract no Debts nor make any contracts which Shall be obligatory on said Rapp except such as Shall be necessary to be made in the transactions of the aforesaid establishment, and those contracts to inure to the sole benefit of said Rapp. The said Caldwell shall daily set down in the Cash Book, the amount of Cash received, and deposit the same weekly or oftener in the Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown aforesaid, to the credit of said Rapp, or other wise pay the Same over agreeable to the Instructions of said Rapp. The said Caldwell further agrees to record in Books kept for that purpose, all transactions & keep such accounts as may be necessary to (indentify ?) the transactions of said Establishments, and to admit the said Rapp or his agent (legally authorized) at all times to have free access to the Books & Stock of Merchandise in (S.) Mercantile Establishments. And the said Rapp on his part in consideration of the aforesaid services, agrees to pay the said Caldwell at the Rate of Five hundred Dollars per

annum, quarter yearly in lawfull money of United States: and the said Caldwell is authorized to precure a Boy or Young Man to afsist him in carrying on the bufsiness of said Establishments (to be approved by said Rapp) which Boy or Young Man when so employed shall have suitable boarding & Clothing at the sole expense of said Rapp. In Witnefs whereof the aforesaid parties have interchangeably set their hands and affixed their seals the day & year above written.

Sealed & delivered
In presence of
R. L. Baker
to the signature of
John Caldwell

Fredk Rapp (Seal)

Memorandum, It is hereby mutually agreed & concluded upon between the within named Fredk Rapp and John Caldwell, to continue the within agreement, in every part, matter & thing, whatsoever therein contained as fully and complete, as if the same was herein, specially & particularly set forth, for the term of one year from the 1st January last 1825.

In Witnefs whereof the aforesaid parties have here unto set their hands & affixed their seals this 24th February 1825.

Sealed & delivered
In presence of
R. L. Baker

Fredk Rapp (Seal)

(Seal)

Memorandum. It is hereby mutually agreed and concluded upon between the within named Fredk Rapp and John Caldwell, to continue the written agreement, in every part matter and thing whatsoever therein contained fully & complete, as if the Same was herein Specially & particularly set forth, for this term of one year from the 1st January next 1826.

In Witnefs whereof the aforesaid parties have unto set their Hands and affixed their Seals the 25th November 1825.

Sealed & delivered
In presence of
Ralph Hall

Frederick Rapp (Seal)
by R. L. Baker

J. W. Caldwell

Memorandum, It is hereby, mutually agreed and concluded upon, between the written named Frederick Rapp and John Caldwell, to continue the written agreement, in every part matter and thing, whatsoever therein contained, as fully & complete, as if the Same was herein Specially and particularly set forth for the term of one year from the first January 1827. Except the part which relates to the Receipt & Storage of Consignments, as the contracting parties have mutually agreed to decline all Such Bufsinsef, from the date hereof, other than Such Goods as the Said Frederick Rapp may from time to

time consign for his different mercantile Establishment, and it is moreover agreed by and between the said contracting parties, that the Expenses incident to employing a person to assist in the Store is to be born equally by both, Share & Share alike, from the date of these present.

In Witnefs, whereof the aforesaid parties have hereunto set their hands & affixed their Seals the 24th November 1826.

Sealed & delivered
In presence of
Ralph Hall

Frederick Rapp (Seal)
by R. L. Baker

J. W. Caldwell (Seal)¹

¹John Caldwell Collection, MSS, Indiana State Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

APPENDIX SEVEN

POWER OF ATTORNEY GRANTED TO FREDERICK RAPP

To all to whom these presents may come, Be it known that whereas the undersigned persons, members of an association at Harmonie, Indiana commonly known by the name of George Rapp & Associates, are seized and possessed of & an certain messuages, lands, tenements, & hereditaments & real estate & also of certain goods chattels & other personal property situate in the States of Indiana & Illinois & especially in the County of Posey & State of Indiana which said real and personal property is of grate value.

Now know ye that we the subscribers wishing to sell all our real and personal property in the State of Indiana & Illinois by whatsoever title or in whatsoever name or names the same or any other part may be held and reposing intire confidence in our worthy friend Frederick Rapp of Harmonie aforesaid have and each of us hath made Constituted and appointed and by these presents do and each of us doth, make constitute and appoint the said Frederick Rapp our true and lawful Attorney of and for each and every one of use, for us and for each of us and in our or any of our names or in the name of George Rapp & associates to take possession of all the real and personal property situate in Indiana and Illinois of which we or any or either of us are possessed or by any means entitled or interested in either in severalty or jointly or in common with any other person or persons.

And also for us and for each of us in our or any of our Names or in the name of George Rapp & associates to grant bargain and sell the real and personal estate situate as aforementioned belong to us to any or to either of us, or any part share or proportion thereof, of us of any or of either of us and all our and each of our right title and interest therein for such price and upon such terms as he in his description may think proper and to take in his own name any notes, bonds, mortgages or other securities for payment of the purchase money or any part thereof and also for us and for each of us and in our or any of our names or in the name of George Rapp and associates to execute and deliver conveyances to the purchasers of such real property with such covenants and agreements as said attorney may deem adviseable binding upon us and each of us our and each of our heirs & upon all persons claiming or to claim from or under us or either of us.

Untill the sale of the real and personal property aforesaid, the said Frederick Rapp is hereby authorized by us and by each of us in our or any of our names or in the name of George Rapp & associates to Lease let and demise for any term whatever or in his own name to use occupy and employ the unsold property real or personal or any part share or proportion thereof, or to make any description whatever of the same And to receive sue for and recover the rents issues profits and proceeds thereof or to take in his own name there for any assurance obligations or other securities forever and each of our use according to his discretion.

By these presents we and each of us whose signatures and seals are affixed to this point and several power of Attorney authorize the said Frederick Rapp generally to demand sue for and receive for us and for each of us all sums of money or property which shall become due us or any of us by virtue of any bargains in sales leases or other transactions herein authorized and also to compromise arbitrate and agree for the same or any part thereof and acquittances or other sufficient discharges therefor to make seal and delivered for us and for each of us and in our or any of our names or in the name of George Rapp and associates generally to execute and perform any thing that may be necessary in and about the premises as completely in every respect as we ourselves or any of us might or could do if personally present and an attorney or attorneys under him for all or any of the purposes aforesaid to make and substituted and at his pleasure to revoke hereby ratifying and confirming all and whatsoever our said Attorney shall do or cause to be done in and about the premises by virtue of these presents.

In Testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this twenty first day of May in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and twenty four

George Rapp
Christina Rapp
Rosina Rapp
Johnanna Rapp
John P. Baker
George Schmid
William Smith
George Bendel
Katharine Bendel
Johannes Schnabel
Eva Schnabel
Israel Bentel
Catharine Bentel
Wilhelmina Bentel
Friderika Mutschler
Frederika Mutschler
Frederick Nachtrieb
Dorothea Nachtrieb

John Reichart
Johanna Reichart
Johannes Reichart
Friederika Bamesberger
Jacob Scholle
Mathew Scholle
Hilpert Scholle
Adam Nachtrieb
Josua Nachtrieb
Johannes Bamesberger
Maria Nachtrieb
Drotheb Nachtrieb
Magdalena Bamesberger
Salouea Scholle
Margareth Scholle*
Siloestus Gayer
George Wagner
Maria Wagner

George Forstuer
Maria Forstuer
George Bentel
Margartha Bentel
Melina Wagner
Elizabeth Jule
Catharine Rein*
Jacob Wagner
David Wagner
George Weingartner
Michael Weingartner
Michael Forstuer
George Forstuer
Jacob Dengler
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Freiderich Kohler
Jacob Klingenstein
Michael Plessing
Margreth Plessing*
Frederich Lacupple
Michael Feucht
George Bauer
Jacob Riesch

Signed sealed and delivered by the undersigned this
second day of March A.D. Eighteen hundred and twenty five

Peter Schreiber
John Schreiber

Romelius L. Baker
Conrod Feucht

Witness
Isaac Blackford**

Harmonie Indiana--This certifies that the within
Power of Attorney was signed, sealed and delivered and
acknowledged by the five hundred & one persons within
named on the twenty first & twenty second days of May
eighteen hundred & twenty four in our presence.

John Schnee
Isaac Blackford¹

* Those unable to sign their names.

** He was a judge of the Indiana State Supreme Court.

¹Deed Record Book D, Recorder's Office, Posey County,
Indiana, pp. 116-127.

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